

UNIVERSIDAD DEL SALVADOR

**DOCTORATE OF MODERN LANGUAGES
WITH A SPECIALIZATION IN
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE
VALENCIAN LANGUAGE
IN
BUENOS AIRES**

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DOCTORAL THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Many times we tend to confuse coincidence with causality. We think that things happen to us by chance when we are really unconsciously trying by all means that that event happens in our lives. And sooner or later it happens.

It seemed that my relationship with the Valencian language and culture had started as a result of choosing a topic for the seminar for my studies of the Doctorate of Modern Languages with a specialization in the English Language. But if we think it carefully, it is not like that. I was born and I have lived with the Valencian culture and language. The only difference is that now I have also decided to study it and to investigate it.

When I say that I was born and I have lived with the Valencian culture, I really mean that my parents and my whole family are Valencian. My father was born in Salem, a small town in the province of Valencia, and my mother was born in Pego, a town in the province of Alicante. They lived at about fifteen kilometres from each other and as children they even went to birthday parties together but as adults they met here in Argentina. My father came alone whereas my mother arrived with her whole family, both parents and two brothers. That was all my family in Argentina. The rest was in Spain and I met them as an adult. Therefore, all the family meetings, birthdays, celebrations, Christmas, all event that gathered the family was with Valencian people; consequently eating the delicious Valencian dishes and listening to the adults speaking the Valencian language. Most of my parents' friends were also Valencian. As a consequence, my brother, my cousins and I grew up with a complete bilingual family, and we believed that this situation was normal. To listen to two languages, to listen to how they switched from one language to the other. We grew up knowing as much of Argentina as of Spain, although Spain was an almost exclusive synonym of Valencia.

There are many reasons for choosing to investigate the Valencian language for my doctoral thesis. Firstly, because I feel that I am studying my roots, my origin, I am

studying my family, who they are, where they come from, why they speak the way they do it, and consequently this gives me the possibility of a self-discovery. Secondly, when I started with the research for the Specific Seminars I and II during my studies of the Doctorate, I realized that very little has been investigated and published about the Valencians in Buenos Aires. We can get a lot of information about the Galicians or about the Basques, but there is almost no record or book about the Valencian people, the Valencian culture or the Valencian language in Argentina. We do not even know how many Valencians came to Argentina. As a result of this, I consider that they deserve this investigation. And as you can imagine, I am delighted to be the one who can offer them this chance.

That is my challenge. I want to show whether they continued using their language or not, if they were able to transmit their language to their descendants, what happened with all their customs and traditions, if they had the possibility of gathering in a community centre, and what happened to their Valencian language if we compared it to the language spoken nowadays in the Valencian community. Nothing has ever been published about this, and this research will answer all these questions which we are certain the Valencians living in Buenos Aires and their descendants would like to know.

The thesis is composed of two parts. The first part is about the Valencian immigration in Buenos Aires. In the first chapter we analyze the immigration in general and the Spanish immigration in particular. In the second chapter, we describe the historical and social situation in Argentina at the moment those immigrants decided to come. In that way we can understand why they decided to choose Argentina and what Argentina could offer them. It mainly comprises the Peronist government as the period studied is the nineteen fifties. The third chapter deals with the historical and social situation in Spain at that time and that obviously means to study Franco and his regime. In the fourth chapter we have the census of the Valencians in Buenos Aires, the immigration from the fifties to the seventies and the number of Valencians that are in Buenos Aires nowadays. The fifth chapter is about bilingualism and bilinguality. We analyze whether the Valencians that are in Buenos Aires can be considered bilingual or not and we fully explain the two linguistic positions concerning the Valencian language existing today in Spain. In chapter six we describe the different varieties and dialects that the Valencian language has and finally the last chapter is about the attitude and knowledge of the descendants, their children and grandchildren.

The second part of the thesis is about the Valencian language in Buenos Aires. The first chapter deals with the Valencian and Catalan entities in Buenos Aires and provides a summary of all the Spanish entities in Buenos Aires. It also describes the relationship between the Valencians and the Catalans here. The second chapter analyzes the Spanish essence and feeling of identity shown by the Valencians and Catalans in Buenos Aires and in Spain. The third chapter describes the contact with the language and its changes, the fourth the comparison between the Valencian language spoken in Buenos Aires to

the Valencian Community and finally chapter five shows how the Valencians in Buenos Aires have kept their cultural and linguistic identity.

Many people have contributed with this research and to find the answers to all these questions and doubts we have concerning the Valencian language. The Valencian and the Catalan immigrants were always eager to accept interviews, to answer surveys and did not object to being filmed. The Casal of Catalunya in Buenos Aires received me all the times that I needed it and contributed a lot with the surveys. My mother and all her Valencian friends, who organized meetings to give me the opportunity to have them all together and allowed me to film them and record them. Without their help this research could not have been possible.

I have to thank my tutor, Dr. Héctor Valencia, who has always shown his deep interest in this investigation, he has firmly believed in this project and has constantly helped me with his wise advice and support.

Philologists from the Valencian Community have been contributing significantly, sending me their books, articles, information connected with the investigation and answering the constant questions I have been asking them. Dr. Emili Casanova, from the University of Valencia and the Valencian Academy of the Language; Dr. Abelard Saragossà from the University of Valencia; Dr. Brauli Montoya Abat from the University of Alicante; Dr. Gómez Bayarri from the Royal Academy of the Valencian Language and José Miguel Orts Timoner, who was my first contact in Spain and introduced me to the wide scope of the Valencian language in Spain nowadays.

Last but not least I have to thank those people who have been by my side during all these years since I started the doctorate and this investigation: my husband and my daughter. They have accompanied me through all these years, helping me with the surveys, the preparation of the graphs, taking information from the libraries, encouraging me when I felt disappointed because it was very difficult to get some information, but most of all they have believed in me and they share with me the complete conviction that the Valencian people deserve this investigation.

1.1 THE IMMIGRATION IN ARGENTINA

Between the middle of the nineteenth century and the Great Depression more than four million Spanish people arrived in the New World. Their principal place of arrival was Argentina, mainly Buenos Aires, where a third of those who stayed in the country was established. According to the Argentine statistics, 2,070,874 came into the country between 1857 and 1930. Some of them returned to their country of origin, others travelled many times, but more than a half (54%) settled down here permanently. The net immigration was higher than the number of conquerors and settlers that came to Spanish America during the entire colonial period. As a matter of fact, before the First World War there were more Spanish people in the city of Buenos Aires (306,000) than there had ever been in the Spanish Colonies at any other moment in history previous to the wars of the independence. There were more Spanish people living in the Argentine capital city at that time than in any Spanish city except for Madrid and Barcelona. They constituted one of the most populated urban communities in the world.

Thanks to the immigration, the Argentine population doubled between the two Censuses taken in the nineteenth century. It turned from 1,877,490 inhabitants in 1869 to 4,094,911 in 1895. In 1869, the immigrants were 211,993, a bit more than the 10% of the total population; in 1895 they were 1,004,527, the fourth part of the population.

The Argentine government did many things to encourage such immigration, such as the issue of the Law of Immigration N° 817, in 1876 and the opening of agencies which spread in Europe the advantages of coming to our country. Although the crisis in 1890 caused a decrease in the coming of immigrants, the arrival would continue in the following decades. Therefore, in 1906, Buenos Aires had the Hotel of Immigrants, where the new comers could accommodate with no charge at all for five days.

Immigrants and foreigners

There is some ambiguity between the words “foreigner” and “immigrants” as it is clearly explained by Fernando Devoto¹. Obviously the immigrant is legally a foreigner, and this term is applied when referring to their rights, especially the long discussion about the political rights, of those inhabitants who are not Argentine. The Constitution of 1853 itself, in the article 25, uses as synonyms the expressions immigrant and foreigner and the article 20 which deals with the civil rights, also indicates that “foreigners have all the civil rights of the citizen”. Nevertheless, in the extra-legal use, in the press, in the essays, in the social use of the term, the distinctions between one and the other are evident.

In the twentieth century, little did the meaning of the terms change but it was evident the change observed in the importance given to such words. The immigrant continued being someone associated with work, and as a desirable object, with agriculture.

The changes in the definition and the perception of immigrant did not happen solely in Argentina. In the International Conference of Emigration of Rome, in 1924, which aimed to establish a common migratory policy and to unify statistic criteria, it was proposed a very inclusive definition of immigrant. The definition included all those people who left their country of origin with the intention of looking for a job and all those who travelled to meet their relatives that had emigrated for such reason. It was also included the will of permanent residence. However, if the person travelled with the intention of getting a job, but only on a temporary basis, he would be considered a worker but not an immigrant.

Finally, in 1932, the International Organization of Work suggested that it should be considered as emigrant simply that person that changed residence (and the country) for at least a year.

Coming to Argentina

A slight and modest immigration started to come to Argentina in 1830, mainly composed of Galicians and Basques who were escaping from the hard times in Spain and the Carlist Wars; others were coming from the south of France, the Piedmont and the Canary Islands. Some of them were political emigrants that were leaving their absolutist governments.

There were just a few. They were welcome and they did not suffer from any kind of discrimination. The problems would arouse later when the number of

¹ Fernando DEVOTO, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2003

foreigners doubled the native inhabitants and Buenos Aires turned into a race puzzle.

Initially, the main question was not how many immigrants were coming to our country but how many people were missing in it. Because we do not have to forget that the immigrants were invited to come. It has to be understood as a situation with two causes since their land expelled them but at the same time the New World encouraged them to come in masses with promises of welfare and fortune. While it is true to say that their coming solved to some extent the serious problem of the overpopulated and poor Europe, in fact it was thought that their arrival would mean a solution for the huge and deserted continent.

The definite calling for the great immigration was done by the Constitution of 1853, summoning "all the men in the world who want to live in the Argentine land". This constitution showed the Argentine policy in favour of the immigration. Thus, this is clearly expressed in the rights conferred, ideal (as in the prologue) and real (in all the first part). The future immigrant was placed in a privileged position in the Argentine society, a situation that was far from becoming true in other pro-immigrant nations or nations invaded by immigrants, such as the case of the United States of America or France.

Sarmiento from his exile was interested in and convinced of the benefits of inhabiting our deserts. In 1845, in his book *Facundo* not only did he state clearly his concerns about the native groups but he also highlighted the immigration as a factor leading to progress.

The politicians were influenced by the phrase expressed by Alberdi: "to govern is to populate". In his book "Basis" he deepened the hypothesis that the immigration would bring cultural development. Needless to say, "culture" was only considered as the one generated by the important cities of Europe; the modern anthropological sense, capable of capturing and appreciating the lifestyle habits of the natives was far from being taken into account.

The famous phrase "to govern is to populate" appeared in Alberdi's book "Basis and Starting Points for the National Organization" that he wrote in 1852, although it also seems to belong to Sarmiento's ideas. In this book it is clearly stated that a deep transformation of the society is needed because only by transforming the society it would be possible to transform the country. Obviously this thought meant accepting the failure of past generations and it also meant trying to change the agent of such society. Naturally, this new agent was the European immigration, which would play the essential role of installing new habits, customs and behaviours. By means of the everyday example this attitude would be imitated by the native inhabitants.

Furthermore, the immigration had to change Argentina. As a consequence, they had very clear ideas of the kind of immigration they were looking for. They encouraged and promoted the immigration with the purpose of developing our country, therefore, the immigrants had to come from the most advanced and civilized countries of Europe.

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In fact, the immigration that we received was not indeed the one they were looking forward to. Had Sarmiento had the possibility of selecting the immigrants, he would have chosen people from Britain and Germany, but not the Italian and Spanish people that came, since to his mind Spain was the main cause of our misfortune because of a question of inheritance. He considered them as citizens of a second grade and if a true transformation was needed it had to be done with another kind of immigrants. Sarmiento believed, as many other thinkers of his time, that the colonialist Spain was completely linked to backwardness and barbarism, two calamities that we had inherited by blood. Therefore, the sooner our country could get rid of those Spanish traditions, the sooner we could get into the modern and civilized world.

Nonetheless, the Spanish immigration demonstrated that they could achieve everything that Sarmiento was eager to acquire and that they had enough talent to succeed on their own. Besides, owing perhaps to the cultural and language similarities, they turned out to be the group that had the least difficulty in being accepted by the native inhabitants. Before the century finished, Spain had provided musicians, architects, journalists and other professionals to our country.

Sarmiento's generation encouraged, however, the arrival of blond immigrants born on the other side of the Pyrenees. To this way of thinking was Aarón Castellanos, from the province of Salta. It was his firm belief that the Latin or Mediterranean races were inferior and incompetent, and were far from being compared to the correct Saxons and industrious Germans. Those were the immigrants whom they were expecting. Needless to say that their wish had never been accomplished.

The English people that Argentina received were comparatively few. This is clearly explained by Wolf and Patriarca². England did not encourage the emigration. As they did with their colonies, they sent here the managers, employees and technicians for the companies which were installed here. The first people came at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They penetrated commercially when Spain was losing its influence in the River Plate. After the '50's, when the economic principles of free commerce were consolidated – theory exported by them – they found the opportunity to invest in any type of profitable business. England was Europe, a symbol of civilized development.

² Emma WOLF and Cristina PATRIARCA, *La gran inmigración*, 7º ed., Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 2000.

They invested in companies that provided services, they founded banks and insurance companies; they gave loans to the governments; they speculated with the purchase of lands; they became the owners of large landed estates where they raised bovine cattle and sheep which satisfied the demands of the English market and industry. Apart from this, the most important question was that they also had the railway.

The immigration in our country grew steadily in the 1850's and 1860's due to different factors. While it is true to say that Argentina was going through a moment of prosperity, we do not have to forget how the Argentine consuls and specially designed agents were spreading in Europe the benefits of coming to our country.

All America received immigrants in the nineteenth century and the highest number decided to go to the United States of America. But if we take into account and compare the percentage of immigrants in relation to the local population, no other country received as many people as Argentina.

It is very difficult to state precisely when this important movement started. We can say that in its conventional manifestations, the great immigration covers almost all the second half of the nineteenth century until the first decade of the twentieth century; then it rises again with the two World Wars although we could be talking in this case of just isolated immigrants but not coming in masses. In effect, the most crowded period, in which the ships were coming constantly to the ports of Buenos Aires and the littoral with hundreds of people, was between 1860 and 1890. The greatest number was composed of Italian and Spanish people, who came from the ports of Geneva, Naples, Vigo, La Coruña and the Canary ones.

Spanish people in Argentina

There were three prevailing European groups that got into our country before 1852: the Italians (3,8% of the total of the inhabitants), the Spanish,(1,8%) and the French (1,7%) and they continued in that order as it is revealed by the National Census of 1869.

It was more common for the Spanish people to choose Argentina as their final destination than any other country or region of Europe.

More than a half of the Spanish people came from Galicia (La Coruña, Orense, Pontevedra and Lugo) and the neighbouring Asturias. The rest arrived from León, Zamora, Salamanca, the Canary Islands, Andalucía (Granada, Málaga and

Almería) and Catalonia (Barcelona), which was also the point of departure from Aragón and the Basque Countries.

In 1860 there were almost fifteen thousand Spanish people living in Buenos Aires, which at that moment had less than 180,000 inhabitants. According to the Census of 1887 there were 40,000 and the one of 1895 showed that the figure doubled in only eight years. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were more than 200,000 and they represented the 20% of the population of the Capital city. 1910 revealed the highest number of arrivals, being the main reason for leaving their country, the intention of evading the military service in times of the Morocco war. By that time, there were 175,000 Spanish inhabitants. The Spanish Civil War brought the last groups.

Homesickness is a very strong feeling. All these people had to abandon their country and their families and they tried to do something to overcome that sensation of uprooting and at the same time to continue with their own customs and traditions although they made a big effort to get used to the new ones. The Spanish people – and almost all the other groups – began to set up institutions that gathered people from the same nation. This was the origin of the associations in all America, whose main objectives were to offer help to their members, to rejoin the cultural values and enjoy and recreate in this land their traditional festivities.

The Spanish Association of Mutual Help (1857), the Spanish Society of Charity (1852) and the Spanish Club (1866) were the oldest and most popular entities in our country.

The appearance of community institutions

In 1852 the first Spanish entity was created, the Spanish Room of Commerce (Sala Española de Comercio). It was a place where people from the whole Spain could meet, including the Basque immigrants, and it was possible to see old and rich business people as well as young ones engaged in the same activity but in a smaller scale, or even craftsmen or employees. One of the main purposes of the entity was to create a Spanish hospital. They were also interested in the publication of magazines, that is why they created "*El Español*" and afterwards "*The Spanish Magazine*".

In 1857 the Spanish Association of Mutual Help (Asociación Española de Socorros Mutuos) was born, and it would become one of the most important institutions of this kind in Buenos Aires – and may be in the world – in view of the number of members (in the period between the wars it would reach the

number of 33,000). It had three very clear objectives: medical covering, which included the medical attention and the medicaments; burial service, with the right to a social pantheon and sometimes even an musical band in the burial; and a social setting, which meant parties, social meetings and even entertaining games.

But these were not the only services that these institutions offered, they had to extend them due to a number of reasons. For instance, when their members started to get older, their ages rose dangerously and the services they were obliged to give were much higher than the income they received through the monthly fees, which in general were not expensive. Among the new services they had, there was a rudimentary unemployment insurance (that is to say, to pay a sum of money to those members who lost their jobs), to pay the expenses to those members who wanted to return to their country because they were in bad conditions here (taking advantage sometimes of special deals with navy companies of the same nationality, as it really happened in the case of the Spanish people), and humanitarian help for the country of origin in case of natural disasters. They also had theatres, choirs, and later they acquired cinemas, especially in small cities and towns of the interior of the province.

This system of organised mutual help which was born in Buenos Aires extended little by little to all the interior of the province. There was no town or city that did not count with a Spanish or Italian association.

Three new entities emerged in the seventies. The Italian Hospital (1872), the Spanish one (1877) and the French (in 1878, but which followed an older one that was from 1840).

The Immigration of masses

Between 1881 and 1914, about more than 4,200,000 people arrived in Argentina. Among them, 2,000,000 were Italian; 1,400,000 were Spanish; 170,000 were French and 160,000 Russian. The emigrations showed two prolonged stages of expansion interrupted by the crisis of the 90's and their temporal consequences. In the second of these stages, Argentina got to its highest peak before the First World War. Argentina received in that period a flood of immigrants inferior to the United States (although as it was above mentioned, it was higher if we compared the number of immigrants to the number of local inhabitants) but superior to Canada and Brazil.

Much has been said about the role of the State to promote immigration and

the polices employed to attract immigrants during that period. However, the fact of the matter is that they played a minor role in that expansion described in the above paragraph. Actually, it was the economy the policy that was providing the main incentive to emigrate to Argentina and not the State. We can put as an example the Hotel of Immigrants. Although the new-comers could make use of it for five days with no charge at all and they were given some services, it must be remembered that more than a half of the immigrants did not stay in it because they were welcome in the harbour or they went directly to accommodate with friends or relatives. On the other hand, most of the ones that did accommodate in the hotel did it just to stop before going to the interior, where they were also received by friends or relatives. Just a minority used the possibilities offered by the Office of Employment that worked in the same Hotel of Immigrants and had a demand of work by the employers (most of them for the rural areas).

As it has been described, the emigration of masses comprises two important movements until the First World War. The first one in the decade of the eighties. It was in those years when the greatest number of families emigrated and the percentage of home comings was the smallest in all the period studied. Some of them were settlers who had made up their minds to take advantage of the possibilities that the available lands were offering.

The immigration in the decade of 1880

At the beginning of the eighties, Sarmiento expressed clearly and was the one who showed his outrage most openly as he observed how the process of immigration was developing. He was particularly angry when it was announced that it would be held an Italian Pedagogic Congress, anticipating the Argentine one in Buenos Aires in 1881. He could not accept the fact that the Italian immigrants wanted to educate their children in an "Italian way". Education did not have labels. But before that, he had been negatively impressed when he went to visit colonies in Santa Fe because he observed the very poor integration that was taking place in the different ethnical groups. They lived keeping their habits and customs as if they were in their country of origin and so did their children born in Argentina. The immigrants did not take the Argentine nationality and that fact stopped them from putting into practice the changing role of the political system that only a mesocracy (and the immigrants were or at least were considered as that middle class) could guarantee.

Another problem to be solved was the loyalty of those immigrants divided by the society of origin and the society of reception. This question went beyond the identity effects but the problem of identity in juridical terms was what concerned

them. To put it another way, how to solve the inevitable tension provoked by the *ius sanguinis* of the nations of origin with the *ius soli* of the country of immigration. That is to say, between the idea of citizenship coming from the ethnical origin of the ancestors and the other emerging from the land where you are born.

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By and large, Sarmiento certainly felt a strong hostility to the Spanish past and to those who seemed to be the new peaceful comers, the Spanish immigrants, and in their "condition of foreigner in America", after defining them as "a race with an atrophied mind". We have already seen the kind of immigration that he was eager to receive and his concepts and beliefs towards the Spanish people. Even so, for many others, the population of Spanish people turned into a desirable migratory flow, as the aim was to inhabit the country "with people of our own race".

After the crisis of 1890

The national Census of 1895 shows us the situation of the immigration, a time when the migratory flow started to recover, and makes it clear how important the immigration is as regards the Argentine population. The immigrants are now 25% of the total of the population and there is a significant percentage of children of immigrants among the Argentines. Among the foreigners, the Italians are a bit less than half a million (12.5% of the total population), the Spanish around 200,000 (5%) and the French almost 100,000 (2.4%).

The Spanish community was particularly active during those times. Due to the celebration of the four hundred years of the discovery of America, in 1892, it was a moment of patriotic excitement and outstanding importance was given to Colón. Many demonstrations were held in support of Spain owing to many matters concerning their Foreign Policy, such as the military conflict in Morocco, the war soon lost with the United States for the independence of Cuba. They were once also accompanied with an incredible raise of funds in the community to buy a cruise which would be donated to the Spanish Navy to enlarge their fleet. All this had led to the creation of an institution, The Spanish Patriotic Association, in 1896, which met a number of recreative and mutual associations as well as the community press and important personalities of the community. Furthermore, the Spanish community now counted with an important number of exiled people, Republicans that arrived after the fall of the First Republic, and this would lead to new political initiatives in the following years that would tend to start a closer relationship with the Argentine elite, to revalue the image of Spain in the new

country and to influence on the Spanish political life. An important and relevant role was played by many Spanish republican artists who worked in some of the major magazines edited in those years, from "*Don Quijote*" to "*Caras y Caretas*".

As a result of all these efforts the anti-Spanish verses of the Argentine National Anthem were omitted, prestigious intellectual Spanish personalities were invited to give lectures, there was a close relationship with Julio Roca in his second presidency and they were able to choose a member of the Spanish Parliament to represent the interests of the Spanish people living in Argentina.

The first years of the new century

The continental immigration never stopped growing. Regional and national changes came with the expansion of the migratory flow. The Italian immigration tended to get more meridional and the Spanish one more septentrional (Galicia, Asturias, Santander and the Basque Country contributed with two of every three immigrants).

The country shown in the Census of 1914 was certainly very different from the country of 1895. The population had almost doubled in nineteen years (it came to near 7,900,000), all the indicators of the economy accompanied this expansion, such as the internal gross produce, the exportations, the cultivated fields, the railways and the income and expenditure of the State. This process affected in very different ways the many regions of the country, and even within them some areas more than others.

The overseas immigrants accompanied these more general changes. In 1914 they came to be the 27.3% of the total population in Argentina. Including the bordering immigrants the proportion of foreigners rose to almost the 30%. The Italian group continued being the biggest in number: around 930,000 (the 11.7% of the total of inhabitants), and the Spanish, although they arrived later, before the war they turned to be the major part of the immigrants, following the Italians with 830,000 (10.5%).

As a whole and comparatively, the overseas immigrants were more urbanised than the Argentines. The 74% of the Spanish and the 69% of the Italians lived in those spaces.

It is a fact that not all the immigrants that came to Argentina were successful and different situations could be observed among the several national or regional groups and even within them. We have to remember that less than a half of the immigrants returned to their country of origin, and obviously it can not be

affirmed that all, not even most of the returned people, had failed. Many of them had all their expectations in their country of origin, in the social acknowledgement that could only be given by their group of reference, friends and fellow countrymen. Others arrived only for short periods of two or three years to help in the harvest and then returned to their country taking advantage of salaries that allowed them to save significant money by consuming the least that was possible here. Others, finally, never returned as they were not capable of showing their failure to their group of reference.

Another issue that arises from the Census of 1914 is the associations of the immigrants. We have already made reference to most of them, showing how important they were economically and institutionally. The Census just mentions part of them, the associations of mutual help, and among them, the most formal ones. However, the information that we can get is amazing. For instance, the Spanish associations in all the country were, according to the Census, 250, and had in all 110,000 members. An 80% were adult men and the rest women and children of both sexes. The most important association was the Spanish Association of Mutual Help, which at that time had 22,000 members and the highest social capital (1,000,000 pesos).

The Italian ruling class counted with a higher number of intellectuals and politicians than the Spanish one. The Spanish case was completely different. Although they had a group of people who belonged to the Republican tradition, their tone was not so violent as the Italian's. There is no doubt that the Spanish republicans, following the example of the Italians, tried not only to put into practice a deep political activity towards Spain but also to convince the Spanish community to follow their political ideals, but their demands were not listened. On the contrary, the more active they were, the less attention was paid to them by the community. What is more, in the new century, they had to face the emergence of new groups that followed nationalist ideas, starting with the Catalans, who from their own institution, "*el casal Catalá*" tried an alternative political operation. The Catalan republicans refused to be part of the Spanish Republican Centre, and did not want to have any kind of relationship with the initiatives taken by the Spanish Republican League. In effect, it was clear the rise of a regionalist movement, more social and cultural than political, which would turn into something much more important. From that moment many regional help entities were created and that would be the symbol of the associative life in this community.

"Crucible of races" or cultural pluralism?

By and large, Argentina could be considered in two different ways as regards immigration. On the one hand, as a society reasonably well integrated, where all the immigrants had "assimilated" with no difficulty; and on the other, as a country where different cultures had coexisted, in an autonomous way or by means of conflict. The expression "crucible of races" was used to identify the first type, that is to say, an integrated society. This expression was very similar to the ones commonly used in other societies, such as the American "*melting pot*" or the French "*creuset*". The second position was labelled with the expression "*cultural pluralism*" (or sometimes multiculturalism).

All things considered, to describe the period we have analysed as "crucible of races" would not be appropriate. Should we remember the intention shown by the immigrants of keeping their own traditions, language and customs, the desire by many officers and member of the government to select the origin of the immigration and to disregard and neglect many immigrants, we will not use this expression. In fact, just a miracle, which goes beyond the world of the social relationships, would enable a society that was so heterogeneous to become an integrated society.



Dormitory for women in one of the halls of the Hotel of Immigrants. 1912.
(General Archives of the Nation)



Wharf. Disembarkment of Immigrants, 1910
(General Archives of the Nation)



**Permanent exposition of agricultural machinery
that was found outside the Hotel, inside the set
of buildings devoted to serve the immigrant, 1914
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**The doctor visits the patients in the Hotel of Immigrants, 1914
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**Steam stove in the Hotel of Immigrants, 1914
(National Direction of Migration)**



**Teaching of household chores to the female immigrants
in the Hotel of Immigrants, 1914
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**The Hotel of Immigrants
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**Immigrants' relatives or friends waiting for the arrival
of a ship at the entrance of a wharf, 1912
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**Movements of ships in the northern dock. In the background,
the Hotel of Immigrants, 1912
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**Building for the dormitories and dining room in the Hotel of Immigrants,
today seat of the museum, 1912 (General Archives of the Nation)**



**Front part of the building of the General Direction of Migration, 1912
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**Old Hotel of Immigrants known as "La Rotonda" and it worked until 1912
(General Archives of the Nation)**



**Vehicle used for the transportation of luggage of the immigrants, 1914
(General Direction of Migration)**



**Transportation of immigrants and luggage from the dock to the Hotel "La Rotonda", 1895
(General Archives of the Nation)**

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN ARGENTINA

Were we interested in understanding why the Valencians came to Argentina in the nineteen fifties, we should know the situation and conditions existing in Argentina and Spain at that time. Why are we taking the fifties as a point of reference when, as we have already studied, that was not the most relevant period concerning the Spanish immigration? Because that was the moment when the Valencian people living now in Buenos Aires arrived, most of them got into the country between 1950 and 1955. They are old people now but they are the last native Valencian speakers settled here, they raised their children following the Valencian tradition and culture in most of the cases. That is the reason why we are particularly interested in that period in history. And if we speak about the 1950's in Argentina we must refer to the "Peronism", movement led by Juan Domingo Perón, one of the most important political personalities in Argentina, and who was President of Argentina in three opportunities, 1946, 1952 and 1973.

The Peronism

During the decade of 1930 important changes took place in the Argentine working force as a result of the internal migrations which changed its composition.

The working force came from the country to the big cities and were inexperienced in the political field but they did not feel completely represented by the labour union movement with left side ideas that were present in the working movement. These workers coming from the country promoted a labour union movement that was more negotiator. Anyway, that did not mean a separation among the members of the working class since they were together suffering the abuses made by their employers. The working class was claiming for their rights. The conservative governments that followed from 1930 did not develop any kind of social policy and practically no labour laws were issued during that period. The military government that was in power in that period was conscious of that situation, in particular the Colonel Juan Domingo Perón.

Juan Domingo Perón



1895-1974

Juan Domingo Perón was born on October 8th, 1895 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. At the age of 16 he entered the Military College and graduated as a Second Lieutenant of Infantry. He then continued his studies in the War Military School graduating in 1929. In 1930 he took part in a military coup that overthrew current president Hipólito Yrigoyen and he was appointed private secretary of the Minister of War (1930-1935)

Later he lectured in the War Military High School, spent one year in the Argentine Embassy in Chile, and was sent to Italy and Germany as an observer to analyze the success of the fascists and Nazis. He was very much interested in history and in political philosophy and he published five books on military history.

Upon his return to Argentina in 1941, as an admirer of Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, he founded the Group of United Officials (GOU), and in 1943 he joined a military conspiracy that overthrew the government of Ramon Castillo. The military regime that rose to power for the following three years has highly influenced Perón, who discreetly requested a minor position as a Secretary of Work and Social Welfare. In 1945 he became Vice President and War Minister and little by little he gained respect and reputation, especially from the under privileged workers called "descamisados" as well as popular and army support.

The birth of the "Peronism" movement dates back to December 1943, when Juan Domingo Perón, who was the Head of the National Department of Work turned this department into the Secretary of Work and Social Welfare. From this place he managed to create a strong link with the workers. Perón claimed that the State should play a mediating role between the capital and work. In that way, he started the dialogue with the labour union members. And that brought its immediate effects: in the middle of 1944 there was an increase in the collective agreements of Labour and more workers joined the Labour Unions. Nevertheless, at the same time, the opposition to this new leader of the working class was growing.

In his speeches, Perón began to defend the rights of the workers to live a decent life and to be part of the consumption, and therefore, to keep at a distance the revolutionary influence represented by the socialism and the communism.

He suggested and finally convinced the members of the military government that they should start a plan based on an Alliance of Classes. He insisted that after the war Argentina should increase the consumption because, as it was naturally expected, the sales abroad would go down. For this reason, it was necessary to increase the production and the consumption. To make this possible, it was essential to help the national businessmen and to raise the salaries of the workers. Perón suggested an alliance between the owners of the factories and the workers. Both were interested in increasing the production and in having the State interfering in the benefit of the industry. The employers would accept to raise the salaries as this money would be recovered with the increase in the consumption. Needless to say, the role of the State was fundamental.

Perón succeeded in getting the issue of decree-laws which were of vital importance in the working field. He managed to put into force the retirement laws for all the unions, he declared the paid holidays and the annual bonus. He ruled the day's work of eight hours and he faced the landowners issuing a new "Statute of the Country Worker", a first law protecting the rights of the country workers.

The result of all these measures was a quick and extraordinary popularity. He was very popular among the working class and it was not surprising that these conditions attracted many immigrants at that time. We do not have to forget that Europe was still going through the serious consequences left by the Second World War: human and material losses, the social disorganization and the economic disaster were part of the hard price paid and it affected both the defeated and the victorious sides. Spain was slowly recovering from the Civil War.

However, not everybody believed in Perón, many people accused him of being a demagogue and of trying to manipulate the labour unions. Perón reacted by following

their leaders, removing their legal entity and creating parallel unions with important economic benefits which would allow them to provide better services.

The end of the war encouraged the active participation of the political parties, which organized massive demonstrations asking for presidential elections. The more popularity Perón had, the more power he acquired. But the pressures were so deep that Perón was obliged to resign on October 1945. The following day he was arrested, apparently "to protect him" from the anger of his opponents. All his cabinet resigned too. He was sent to the island "Martín García".

Meanwhile, Perón's followers started to get organized for the resistance. The CGT (General Confederation of Labour) called the people to be present at the May Square (Plaza de Mayo) on the 18th October to support the Colonel Perón. The poorest part of the population was clearly not accepting the new situation. Due to several pressures the meeting took place a day before. The 17th October 1945 marked an important political event for Argentina. Thousands of workers coming from the industrial area of Buenos Aires came to the May Square. They were determined not to leave the square until Perón appeared in the balcony of the Pink House. It was an impressive demonstration. Finally the government decided to accept the population's will. That night Perón was released from prison and went to the Pink House and greeted the people for the first time with his typical gesture with the arms up, which was going to be the way he was going to greet the population during all his life in public appearances. He asked the people to go home calmly as everything had returned to normal. The fact was that Perón had won and he had already managed to get an outstanding position in the national politics.



Perón greeting the people



Demonstrations for Perón's release, on October 17th 1945

It was agreed that Perón would leave, by his own will, the positions he was holding in the government, and that he would be a candidate for the presidential elections with the Labour Party created by the Labour Unions.

The presidential elections divided into two sides the Argentine society. On one hand was the Labour Party, supported by the Labour Unions, groups from the military forces and the Catholic Church; on the other it was the Democratic Union composed of the UCR (Radical Civic Union), the Socialist Party, the Progressive Democratic Party and the Communist Party. This Democratic Union was supported by the Rural Society, the Industrial Union, the Stock Exchange and the Ambassador of the United States of America, Spruille Braden.

The presidential candidates Juan Domingo Perón – Hortensio Quijano won, getting almost two thirds of the Chamber of Deputies, most of the seats in the Senate and all the provincial governments.

Perón's first Presidency, 1946 – 1952

When Perón assumed the presidency he had a great concentration of power. The political movement which had supported him was turned into a new unique organization, with a vertical leadership. He dissolved the Labour Party and removed the General Secretary of the CGT.

In 1948, the unions that had supported Perón created the Peronist Party.

The vertical leadership was reflected in many articles of the Organic Statute of the Peronist party. For instance, the party would sacrifice anything with the aim of being loyal to the Colonel, and no positions against this would be admitted. It was also stated that the Colonel Perón, as supreme head of the Peronism, could modify or make null and void decisions taken by the authorities of the party. From that moment, it was accelerated the verticality of the labour unions. The working movement turned to be

firmly led and controlled by the government.

As far as the economy is concerned, Perón's central aim was that the State interfered in the economy in the social field, as a way to create an internal market and to increase the consumption.

One of the first measures was the creation of the IAPI (Argentine Institute of Promotion of Exchange), which had the monopoly of the commerce of exportation of grain, substituting the traditional Cereal Houses. The IAPI bought to the national producers all the harvests and sold them abroad. The producers were not very pleased because they were paid less than half of the international price that at that time was particularly high. The difference was used to promote the industrialization with cheap loans.

In reference to the public services, many foreign companies were bought by the State, following a world tendency. The surplus reserves accumulated by the country during the war helped to do this. The most famous case was the railway. In 1947 the British, who were interested in selling the Argentine railway as it was not very profitable, sold it to the Argentine State. For the government, although they paid a high price for materials that were old and a railway infrastructure that was completely old-fashioned, this immense railway system became an endless source of new political employment, which at the end would lead to a deficit and to be over-dimensioned. Another advantage of the acquisition of this company was that the prices went down and that benefited the users and the national producers.

The American Telephone company ITT was also bought by the State and it was very profitable for ITT as it was the only supplier of spare parts and skilled staff for the new State telephone company.

The Peronist government created the company Gas del Estado (Gas of the State) investing a lot of money in the energy field and widening significantly the presence of YPF in the market. The first great gas pipe was installed between Comodoro Rivadavia and Buenos Aires.

On March 1950 the first commercial airline, Aerolíneas Argentinas was created.

The industry linked to the internal market enjoyed an incredible protection by the State. As the working class increased significantly their consumption capacity, new factories manufacturing refrigerators, all kind of electrical appliances and motorcycles flourished. Something similar happened with the construction, encouraged by the housing plans offered by the State, the mortgage loans and the policy of public works.

In the cultural aspect, many national universities were placed under government control and then reorganized with very little autonomy. A law of religious teaching was issued that made it practically compulsory although the parents could ask that their children were excluded from it (but this seldom happened).

The social policy of the Peronism was performed through the institutions of the State, which worked in favour of the least favoured working part of the population. The Peronist State can be included within the world political tendency of the post – war named “Benefactor State”. This “benefactor state” in the world would be in charge of integrating the popular sector to the consumption and to certain levels of welfare, decreasing to some extent the social conflict.

The Peronist government seemed to be very popular and solid but it had a strong weakness, and it was the opposition felt by the wealthy part of the society and even the middle-class and the intellectuals. The first to oppose were the farming producers. The ones connected with commerce and industry experimented contradictory positions. On one hand, they disliked the policy of social agitation and promotion of the labour union participation, but on the other, they were benefited by the protectionism and the expansion of the popular consumption, which provoked an active demand.

The Peronism always had certain authoritative features which irritated the opposition. It was very difficult to express opposing ideas with freedom. The conservative newspaper “La Prensa” was closed and transferred to the CGT and the socialist “La Vanguardia” was closed many times for several reasons, such as censorship or even annoying noises.

Political leaders, such as the radical Ricardo Balbín and the socialist Alfredo Palacios were sent to prison and suffered the exile.

At universities, the students were complaining about the low educational level, and at school many people disagreed not only with the compulsory religious teaching but also with the compulsory reading of books which highlighted the personalities of Perón and Evita, his wife.

All these elements contributed to consider the Peronist government as authoritarian and did not allow to recognise the achievements made in the social and economic fields.

Eva Perón



Eva Perón speaking from the balcony of Argentina's government house, Casa Rosada 1950.

We can not study Juan Domingo Perón and his first presidency without making reference to Eva Perón, his wife. Should we mention the social work done during those years, Eva Perón was the person most concerned about it.

María Eva Duarte de Perón was born on May 7th 1919 and died on July 26th 1952. She was the second wife of Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón and the First Lady of Argentina from 1946 until her death in 1952. She is often referred to as simply Eva Perón, or by the Spanish language diminutive 'Evita', which translates into English as 'Little Eva'.

Born in rural Argentina, in Los Toldos, in 1919, at age 15 Eva Duarte made her way to the nation's capital of Buenos Aires where she pursued a career as a stage, radio, and film actress. Eva met Colonel Juan Perón in 1944 at a charity event in San Juan, Argentina. The two married in 1945. Eva Perón became involved in Argentine politics in 1946 shortly after Juan Perón's first election as President of Argentina. Over the course of the next six years, Eva Perón became powerful within the Pro-Peronist trade unions. Eventually, she founded the charitable Eva Perón Foundation, and the nation's first large-scale female political party, the Female Peronist Party. Evita's aim was to take care of the people and their needs, and she did this through the organisms of the state and the Foundation Eva Perón. Opponents to the Peronism were always reminding that the money of the Foundation was coming from the discounts made to the workers' salaries and donations made by national businessmen that were not always done by their own will, on the contrary, they were compulsory. By mentioning this, they were trying not to give so much importance to her work. But that money was seen in real things. Hospitals, schools, help for the single mothers, school dining-rooms, paid holidays for the children which allowed the poor children to know the sea for the first time, intensive vaccination campaigns, football championships which were also used to keep a medical record of thousands of children and to provide them with medical attention.

Eva Perón was the link between the leader and the people, she was part of the Peronist state but at the same time she was an external member of it.

In 1946, during the campaign for the presidential elections, Perón had promised to grant the women the right to vote. To see this accomplished quickly, Eva created a "Commission pro-female vote". At last, in 1947 the National Congress enacted the law 13.010 which incorporated women to the political life.

Eva Perón never held a public position but her work and her power were more important than any public official. She was occupying important spaces and positions in the Peronism. She was fiercely attacked by her opponents, the middle and especially upper classes, for moral reasons as they were questioning her past, linked to the radio and the cinema setting and also because of her humble origin. When in 1951 the labour unions suggested that she should be the candidate for the vice-presidency of the Nation,

her name was not accepted by military groups and powerful groups that hated and feared her.



17th October 1951. One of Evita's last public appearances in the balcony of the Pink house

She died of cancer on 26th July 1952. Her death caused one of the biggest popular manifestations seen in the Argentine history. Thousands of people waited under the rain to say goodbye to her. Her body was taken to the Congress on 9th August, accompanied by a crowd estimated in two million people.





(Photographs showing different moments in Eva Perón's life. They were taken from the web page www.pjbonaerense.org.ar)

The Constitution of 1949

It was considered necessary in our country to change the Constitution as the classical liberal principles of the Constitution of 1853 started to be questioned with the crisis of 1929 and the development of the interventionism by the state. It was claimed that the Constitution of 1853 had been thought to open the doors of the country to the foreign companies. That is the reason why the liberal content of its principles was against the one of social justice that they were trying to include.

Consequently, in 1949, a Congress specially summoned allowed to include in the Constitution the possibility of re-election of the president. In the new Constitution the social rights of the worker, the family and the old people, the popular education and the social role of the property were also included. The interventionism by the state in the economy was proposed and all the sources of energy became part of the Nation, setting that all the public services would be provided directly by the state (transport, health, communications). In a way, it meant that the natural resources could not be handed to foreign companies.

This new constitution, together with the Law of Female Vote, would help Perón to get a very good election in 1951 and a second period of government.

The foreign policy and "The third position"

The United States of America did not trust and did not approve the appearance of movements with clear nationalist features during the last years of the Second World War and in the immediate post-war, as they thought they shared and liked the ideas and policy of the defeated side since they delayed their declaration of war against the Axis or avoid taking with the necessary promptness certain international agreements.

However, with the Cold War the United States felt obliged to change the strategy towards the Latin American countries since the new priority was to prevent the communist advance. This event helped to return to a stable relationship with the Argentine government. Perón, who had signed the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance (TIAR) with certain reticence in 1947, made it ratified by the Congress in 1950, despite the strong opposition.

The TIAR as a whole meant a success for the United States diplomacy, which imposed their criteria in decisive issues such as the use of the force in the case of inter-hemispherical conflicts.

Concerning the foreign context of the Cold War, Perón suggested the "third position". The third position meant in the field of the political and economic philosophy a refusal to both the Soviet absolute estate system and the classical liberalism, and in the international field, to take some distance from groups led by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Perón explained the "Third Position"

Report from the Colonel Perón to the Congress about the Second Five-Year Plan, in 1952³.

"In the situation existing nowadays in the world, the problem of the relationships between people as regards the governments of the States continues being the same, and now more than at any other moment in history we can appreciate the consequences suffered by the different countries for having adopted extreme solutions, some individualist, the others collective. To such extent this situation is true, that the whole world is divided in two sides: one responds to individualism in a capitalist way, the other responds to collectivism in a communist way.

The individualist, whose philosophy of action is neatly liberal, understands that in its action, the government must omit to take part in any kind of social, economic and political activities of the people. The consequences have been disastrous: the political anarchy in the political field, the national or international capitalism in the economic and the exploitation of man by man in the social field.

³ Felipe PIGNA, *Historia, la Argentina contemporánea*, Buenos Aires, A-Z, 2000.

The collectivism, whose philosophy of action is neatly anti-liberal, understands that in its action the government may and even must take the complete direction of the political, economic and social activities of the people. The consequences have not been less disastrous than the ones of the individualism. Dictatorship in the political field, interventionism in the economic one, and the exploitation of man by the State in the social field. The justicialist doctrine brings to the world its own solution".

Perón's second presidency: 1952-1955

There are three main factors among the causes of Perón's fall: the political and economic crisis, the contract with the Standard Oil and the conflict with the church.

The decline in the economic prosperity, together with the inflation, caused some protests from the trade unions led by the old anti-Peronists leaders and some new activists with left ideas, including there dissatisfied Peronist followers. At the end of 1950 a serious railway strike started, and it continued on January 1951, and that fact obliged the government to decree the incorporation of the strikers to the Army and in that way they would be submitted to the martial discipline. In 1949 there had already been a strike in Tucumán, led by the usually loyal FOTIA, Working Federation of Workers of the Industry of Sugar (Federación Obrera de Trabajadores de la Industria del Azúcar.

On May 1955 the government signed a contract with the Standard Oil Company from California, and this caused the government to lose prestige due to several reasons.

The contract granted the company the exclusive right to explore, extract and explode petroleum in an area of fifty thousand km square in the south of the Patagonia: the petroleum and other hydrocarbons found should be given to YPF to satisfy the internal demand. Many people were against this. The political parties that opposed were the Radical, the Socialist, the Conservative, the Progressive Democrat and the recently constituted Christian Democrat. They claimed that the contract went against the article 40 of the constitution of 1949, which prohibited to transfer the petroleum reservoirs, and it also contradicted the proclaimed defence of economic independence. The resistance was so hard that some nationalist circles took distance from the government. In Parliament, even some Peronist deputies were doubting about giving their consent until some amendments were done to the original contract and the negotiations with the representatives of the Standard Oil company started again.

The relationship between the Catholic Church and the Peronist government was satisfactory until 1954. But the "peronization" of the education, the compulsory use as reading official book of the autobiography of Evita and other official material, started to cause the antagonism of the church.

The church did not approve the political use that the government was giving to charity and the indoctrination at schools. Apart from that, in 1952 the UES was created, an institution whose objective was to organize sporting activities for the secondary school students after the school timetables. This new institution also irritated the relationship with the church as it competed with the youth organizations promoted by it, as the youth branch of the Catholic Activity.

The church started to take some distance from the government, as a first step decided to train some union leaders in its own schools. That was to attack the system deep inside. At the same time, they started to talk about creating a Christian Democrat Party, as in Europe, which would be a safer and more solid way to defend the ecclesiastical interests.

On July 1954, Perón accused the leaders of the church of supporting the creation of the Christian Democrat party, which was looking for followers in the labour unions. Perón felt offended because he considered that his party was democrat and Christian and he saw no need to create a new one. The Catholic Activity promoted in Córdoba demonstrations with students against the government. Perón answered by revoking the legal entity of the Catholic Activity, put into force the Law of Divorce and he legalized the brothels. The situation got even worse in 1955. In May the religious compulsory teaching was suppressed. On the 11th June, the Corpus Christi procession turned into a massive manifestation from the opponents to the system. The anticlerical campaign launched by Perón led to his excommunication in June, 1955. The unusual coalition of labour, reactionaries, nationalists, churchmen, and military leaders that had supported Perón came apart.

This tense situation with the church encouraged the disagreement of the army with the government, and they started to prepare a new military civic coup d'état.

The first attempt of a coup d'état against Perón occurred on 28th September 1951, just before the general elections on the 11th November. The objective of these military officers led by the General Benjamín Menéndez and the Majors Julio Alsogaray, Tomás Sánchez de Bustamante and Alejandro Agustín Lanusse was to avoid the second presidency of Perón. That coup d'état failed and their leaders were sent to prison.

Many army officers could not understand that a president, who was one of them, built up in their force, could talk about social struggles against the oligarchs or even against the capitalism. It was striking for them to see all the workers together in the May Square. The same happened with the middle classes, to whom they were connected by familiar links and social relationships.

But the real reasons for the coup d'état and the fall of the Peronist government are much more complex. The nationalist policy of the Peronism was not welcome by several parts of the Argentine society. It was affecting the exporters with the IAPI and the transfer of the profits abroad. It was not accepted by two important social groups: the bourgeoisie and the land owners. They considered that the Peronism was making reference to the "State of the Workers" in a wrong way, and that it was necessary to state the real difference clearly between the State and the "working movement".

On 16th June 1955, the opposing climax burst out with an insurrection from groups of the Military Forces. Planes from the Navy managed to bomb the May Square killing almost two thousand people. This produced a public reaction, similar to the one that happened in 1953: the main churches of the city of Buenos Aires, as well as the Curia, and the church authorities in the May Square were all burnt.

This confrontation continued. In September the insurrection started in Córdoba, led by the General Lonardi and supported by many divisions of the army and the complete Navy. The fighting lasted five days and the navy succeeded in controlling the sea littoral and threatened to bomb the oil distilleries in La Plata and even the city of Buenos Aires if Perón did not resign. This movement was baptized as the "Liberating Revolution" (La Revolución Libertadora).

On 23rd September, as Perón was leaving to his exile on a Paraguayan gunboat, a crowd, composed mostly by groups from the middle and high classes, went to the May Square to support the new temporary president, the General Lonardi, who, from the balcony of the Pink House said that there were no winners and no defeated people.



Perón as a young officer



Perón as a diplomat



Perón and his wife Eva



Perón with Radical leader
Ricardo Balbín



Perón and Franco in Madrid



Perón casting his vote



Perón and his wife greeting the people

Eduardo Lonardi's Presidency

General Lonardi, who became president of the Nation on 23rd September 1955 belonged to the nationalist section. His plan was to rescue the Peronist political structure and its social ground creating a "Peronism without-Perón". This was shown in certain events such as not intervening the CGT, the promise of free union elections, and not prohibiting the Peronist party.

His attitude was quickly attacked by the liberal groups, led by the vice-president Isaac Rojas. Lonardi was replaced by the General Pedro Eugenio Aramburu, representative of the liberal part of the Army, on 13th November 1955. Isaac Rojas kept his position as vice-president.



A crowd in the May square supporting the Liberating Revolution



General Eduardo Lonardi



Isaac Rojas who was the vice-president during all the period of the Liberating Revolution

Pedro Eugenio Aramburu's presidency



Pedro Eugenio
Aramburu

This second stage of the "Liberating Revolution" was characterized by the determined action against the defeated Peronism. They decided to eliminate any trace of the Peronism, prohibiting its name and symbols, the constant persecution against their leaders, closing all the organizations and establishing its electoral proscription. However, all these measures did not achieve their goals; on the contrary, in its resistance against the persecution, the Peronism ended up strengthening as an entity and organization, especially in the labour union field.

In the economic field, the government put into practice the "Prebisch Plan", by an Argentine economist with liberal ideas. The plan attacked the economic regulation, dismantled the IAPI, encouraged certain privatisations of companies owned by the state, the external and internal investments and fixed the salaries at their levels. Little by little, and just in a few exceptional areas, a conservative policy was being defined, especially in the social field. The income of the workers fell down remarkably, the collective agreements were interrupted and the employers were benefited in their relationships with the employees.

If before 1955 the Argentine society was clearly divided into Peronists and anti-Peronists, this division continued and for many, was even deeper after the fall of the Peronism.

The anti-Peronist group was composed of the traditional high-class, the high middle-class and members of the middle middle-class. The Peronist group was constituted by some members of the middle middle-class and in particular by the low middle-class and the popular sector (country men and workers).

In 1956 the first manifestation from Peronist opponents to the new authorities took place. The Peronist General Juan José Valle attempted a military-civic coup d'état but it was easily stopped. Although the attempt was not significant or important, the General Valle was executed by shooting together with other Peronist activists.

The Peronist presence was decisive for the transition to a civil government. And this was seen in the triumph of Arturo Frondizi, from the Intransigent Radical Civil Union, in the presidential elections of February 1958.

There were certain disagreements in the Radical party, in 1956 as far as how to include the Peronism in the political structure. The origin of this discussion was concerned with the order given by Perón from his exile to the Peronist followers to cast their vote in blank, to nobody. The president of the UCR, Arturo Frondizi, was keen on an approach with Perón while the radical leader Ricardo Balbín rejected the idea of any contact with that movement. This caused a break in the UCR which divided into two groups: the Intransigent Radical Civil Union (UCRI) led by Frondizi and the UCR of the People, by Balbín. Frondizi sent his secretary, Rogelio Frigerio, to Caracas to make an agreement with Perón. In this agreement, in exchange for the Peronist votes, Frondizi promised to develop a popular policy linked to the Peronism.

Hence the UCRI won the presidential elections in 1958 with a considerable difference of votes, 4,049,170 against the 2,533,523 obtained by the UCR of the People.

Arturo Frondizi's presidency



Arturo Frondizi

Once in the presidency, the relationship between Frondizi with the Peronism weakened, especially from 1959, when the economic policy was changed.

When the new government got into power, they launched an expansive programme which comprised an important rise in the salaries. One of his first measures was to try to get the self oil supply. In view of that some contracts were signed with foreign petrol companies.

Frondizi's economic plan was totally opposite from the one encouraged by Perón, even though he used to believe in the same ideas. The economic plan was put into practise by sanctioning a key law: the Law of Foreign Investment. This law gave the same incentives, especially tax benefits, that local companies had to foreign corporations. The law also created the Department and Commission of Foreign Investments, which was supposed to encourage foreign investors. Frondizi managed to improve the Argentine economy through foreign investment withstanding pressure from the military strengthening his political support, in a way, creating political and legal stability.

The Oil Problem

As already mentioned oil played a key role in the Argentine economy, as well as a political tool since it was constantly used as an element to create a feeling of nationalism among the population. When Frondizi came into office in 1958 the oil production had not grown significantly since it was nationalized by Yrigoyen in 1916. At that time the UCR (Radical Civic Union) favoured a state monopoly, which according to them, was the only way to maintain control on the oil reserves. In the Declaration of Avellaneda, which would later become the platform for both the UCRP and the UCRI, it was set on a policy that the state should invest in exploring for new oil reserves, as well as to arrive at self sufficiency in the short term. The Declaration of Avellaneda mentioned only the ends but not the means, this statement was later used by Frondizi to justify the use of foreign investment.

During Frondizi's administration, foreign investment was encouraged so as to replace the sector previously controlled by the state. Much of this investment went to the oil sector. In effect 90% of all foreign investment went into petrochemicals, transport, metallurgy and machinery. 10 of the 25 greatest projects went into the exploration of new oil fields. By the end of 1960 self sufficiency was achieved, and state funds were diverged into importing machinery for the industry.

Infrastructure

The infrastructure had not been updated since the start of the 1940s, especially public transport. Frondizi's administration wanted to finish or at least start most of these necessary, but forgotten projects. Although it managed to continue with important projects, the infrastructure, especially transport, did not change considerably.

Many of the projects mentioned required an enormous amount of finance, money which the administration did not have. To be able to finish these "monumental" projects, Frondizi's plan was a combination of foreign investment and state interests. This type of project can be divided in two main categories, hydroelectric dams, and steel furnaces. The two main hydroelectric dams in discussion were "El Chocón", in the border with Chile and Salto Grande in the border with Uruguay. The "feasibility studies" for both these projects were already done in Yrigoyen's first presidency (1916-1922) but they were never put into practice. These projects would meet the increasing demand for electricity, replacing the oil powered generators; as well as bringing regional integration with Chile and Uruguay. Although none of these projects was entirely finished during Frondizi's presidency, both of them were eventually finished because this administration not only started with the construction itself, agreed on economic cooperation.

Public transport, however, did not improve, either the administration did not pay much attention to it, or there was not enough time. Trains continued to remain in the hands of the state and their service continued to decrease. Figures of public transport are scarce, but during Frondizi's administration no new subway or train stations were built or improved.

In general, under this administration important projects were started, especially the ones involved with the generation of electricity, but public transport remained poor.

The social aspect

During the developmentarism years, Frondizi set out to change the social aspect of the government in comparison with the previous military government and Perón. The idea of separating trade unions and state, as this could break the Peronist control over them, can be considered progressive. As Perón always said the trade unions were the "backbone of the Peronist movement". With this he meant that trade unions were the main element to control the masses. The benefits that these unions offer to their members were much higher than other trade unions since they used money from the government to obtain such benefits. Trade union leaders were extremely loyal to Perón, partially due to gratitude, but mostly because of the power they were given over the trade unions. After Perón's fall this loyalty continued intact. Perón in exile still had control over his movement and over the trade unions. The new peronism that emerged, called "resistance Peronism", was based on strikes and violent manifestations of the trade unions against the state. The main objective was to destabilize any government that was not Peronist. Even though Perón had an agreement with Frondizi, his developmentarist economic plan quickly destroyed their temporary friendship. The constant resistance of the organised working class is one of the key aspects that brought his downfall.

Although in theory, Frondizi's administration wanted to avoid state intervention, and encourage a progressive social policy, it failed to avoid intervening in the trade unions.

Many aspects of the trade unions were inherited from Perón's system, to change it Frondizi was forced to ensure control of the trade unions by issuing a new law. This control would cause serious problems with the trade unions.

Education was another social aspect which can be seen as controversial. Frondizi's administration not only changed the curriculum but also opened education to the private sector. To understand the relevance of this change we need to go back to the Peronist legacy. During Perón's presidency the curriculum was changed to contain Peronist ideology. Even though most of it was removed by the previous military government, there were still some vestiges, such as youth organizations. The opening of education to the private sector is sometimes seen as either progressive or pro-clerical.

The government and its relationship with the working force

After the fall of the Peronist regime in 1955 its vital structure, the CGT (General Confederation of Labour) came under restriction from the military government. This clearly anti-Peronist action would eventually lead to massive strikes and other types of resistance from the working force. At the time Frondizi's position against the military government and in favour of a united trade union (Frondizi was the only anti-Peronist politician who favoured this option) made the trade unions sympathetic with him. When Frondizi took office in 1958 there were three groups of trade unions.

When Frondizi took power he fulfilled his promise of maintaining an all-united CGT. This idea was fiercely opposed by the 32s and 19s since one centralized trade union would mean, in practice, that the workers movement would be controlled by the Peronists. The government faced two options, one was an election in which the proportional representation system was used; the other option was an electoral system which handed control of the trade unions to the majority (Peronist). To satisfy Peronist demands and avoid short term conflict, the trade unions control was given to the majority. Nevertheless, during 1958 the 62s supported the government and tried to reduce any working conflict. On the other hand the 19s and the 32s opposed the government by encouraging strikes and other workers' demonstrations. The contracts that had been frozen by law in 1958 meant that the real salaries, which already had been falling from the fall of Perón, fell even further.

During 1959 the situation dramatically changed. The government issued the Law 9270/56 of Professional Association which defined the relationship between state, employers and trade unions. This law among other things, allowed the state to intervene in the trade unions when it considered it necessary, by the use of force. The new law alarmed the Peronists since it undermined their control over the trade unions. It also represented a threat to the so-called democratic trade unions (non Peronist) since this law also stated that the majority would control the central trade union (CGT).

Educational Reforms

When Frondizi came into power he intended to promote the law called "free education". This law, proposed by the government, would allow the establishment of private universities as well as fund private schools. Before this new law private universities could not issue official titles, they needed to arrange it with a public university. The confrontation behind this new law occurred because most of the new universities, and private schools which were going to be funded by the state, were religious. The people which were in favour of a non religious education said that the law meant a concession given to the church in exchange for support. When Frondizi's administration allowed private universities to co-exist with public ones, it was seen as a progressive measure. Nevertheless by funding private institutions it was intended to fund the church institutions more than others. This of course, was part of a previous agreement between the church and the government.

The social aspect of Frondizi's government is a quite obscure aspect, and indeed it is hard to identify which measures were taken by his own initiative rather than by external pressure. Two key aspects of its policy have been identified; the treatment of workers' movements, and cultural aspects such as education. Although some of the measures taken can be understood as part of a progressive movement, most of them are in fact conservative, since their intent was to maintain the status quo established by the previous military government. To illustrate the point we can mention that progressive measures were, the restoration of the CGT to trade union members and the opening of education to the private sector. On the other hand we have the non-progressive measures, such as financing religious education, intervening the trade unions when needed, and use of martial law and imprisonment of trade union leaders, which began soon after Frondizi came into office. Most of the measures in the second category were responses to pressure from anti-Peronist elements in the society, especially from the military forces. Others, such as aiding religious education, were a response to the need for support from conservative groups, such as the Church, which still had a great influence on the majority of the society. Summarizing the social policies carried out by Frondizi's administration it could be said that overall it was not a progressive one, but rather it responded to conservative interest

As Frondizi's government was getting weaker, the military force demanded him 32 times to make changes in his foreign and domestic policies and the president accepted all of them.

In 1962 the government issued writs of elections for provincial governors with no proscriptions; when the Peronist party won in 10 out of the 14 provinces, the militaries demanded to declare it null and void. Frondizi's refusal to do so caused his fall and his replacement by a very weak civil president, José María Guido.

All in all, this would be a brief summary of the political and social situation in Argentina, which did not change much in the following years. From 1955 to the beginnings of 1973, the Argentine political life was characterized by a succession of military and civil governments conditioned by the military forces and originated from elections in which the Peronist party was proscribed. There were eight presidents and none of them completed the six years. They were years marked by a series of economic crisis and constant political and social conflicts.

1.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN SPAIN

In this first part of our research we are studying the Valencian immigration in Buenos Aires. To begin with, we have analysed the immigration in general terms that came to Argentina. Afterwards, our point of study was the description of the situation in Argentina with the purpose of knowing what the country that the Valencians were choosing could offer them. Should we want to complete the full understanding of this immigration, a description of the situation existing in Spain must be given in order to have a clear idea of why the Spanish people left their country.

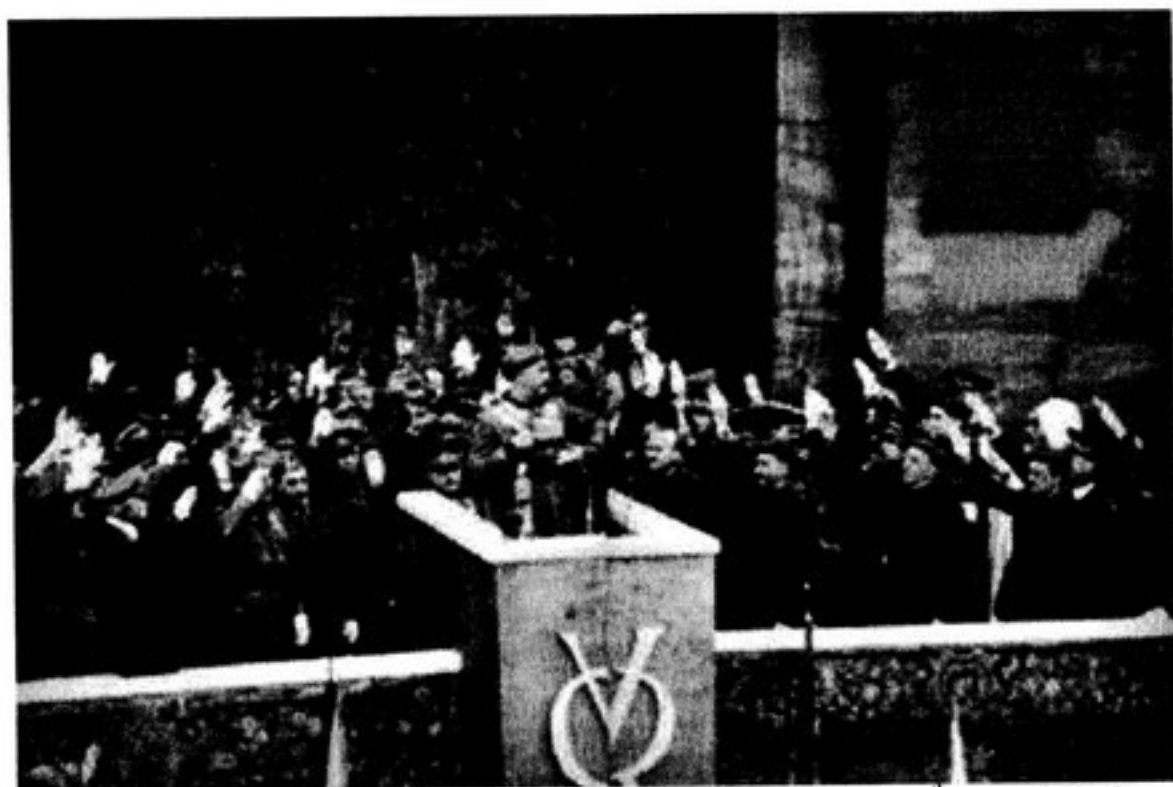
It goes without saying that if we study the historical and social situation in Spain in the fifties, we must make reference to the person who ruled Spain at that time and this person was Francisco Franco who held this position from 1939 to his death in 1975.



Francisco Franco

Francisco Paulino Hermenegildo Teódulo Franco Bahamonde abbreviated Francisco Franco y Bahamonde was born in Ferrol, Galicia, Spain on 4th December 1892. He was the effective ruler and later formal head of state of Spain from 1939 until his death in 1975. He presided over the government of the Spanish State following victory in the Spanish Civil War.

.. Franco was officially known as "Su Excelencia el Jefe de Estado" ("His Excellency the Head of State"), but in state and official documents he was also referred to as "Caudillo de España" (The Leader of Spain) and "el Generalísimo" (The Highest General). During his rule he was called "el Caudillo de la Última Cruzada y de la Hispanidad" ("The Leader of the Last Crusade and of the Hispanic World") and "el Caudillo de la Guerra de Liberación contra el Comunismo y sus Cómplices" (The Leader of the War of Liberation Against Communism and its Collaborators")



After the civil war and with the victory of the national troops, on 19th May 1939, the first victory parade was held in Madrid presided by Franco.

To describe Franco's military career, the Spanish Civil War and his thirty-six years of government would be very long, it would go beyond the main purpose of this research and at the same time not necessary as there are a lot of books specially devoted to that topic. What we consider useful in order to understand the period that we are

studying is to analyse the main characteristics of Franco's period in power which we can refer to as "Franco' era" due to the fact that there has not been in the Spanish history another time which was marked in such an indelible way by an individual political personality as the thirty-six years that "Franquism" did.

Franco got his power as the result of winning the civil war. It was an absolute power and he shaped his own political regime with the elements that a traditional Spain could convey to a Head of State: the army, the Church and the economic means.

Spain was bitterly divided and economically ruined as a result of the civil war. After the war, a very harsh repression began, with thousands of summary executions, an unknown number of political prisoners and tens of thousands of people in exile, largely in France and Latin America.

The regime was not a collective dictatorship of a party or social or professional sector, but a personal dictatorship. That is why it is called "Franquismo" (Franquism due to his name Franco), since although the person who led it belonged to the army, it was not a dictatorship belonging to the army. That personal condition did not stop the will of permanence which was always clear and repeated at every opportunity.

Contrary to other dictatorships with the will of remaining in power, Franco never even took seriously the idea of getting institutionalised. We just have to remember that the regime just had something similar to a Constitution thirty years after its beginning, in 1967.

Lacking any strong ideology, Franco initially sought support from national syndicalism (nacionalindicalismo) and the Roman Catholic Church (nacionalcatolicismo). His coalition-ruling single party, the National Movement (Movimiento Nacional), was so heterogeneous as to barely qualify as a party at all.

The fascist regimes, which always pretend to have a revolutionary profile, are always mobilizing and so was the "Franquism" at the beginning; moreover, at all times when it was considered to be in danger, they made use of the mobilizations showing at those moments a nature more similar to the fascism. In the sixties, sometimes the Spanish society was described not as "Franquist" or "anti- Franco" but as indifferent to politics. The regime was based essentially, not on a silent majority but on an absent majority. Those years, as in the case of the Italian fascism, may be called the "years of the general consent", not in the sense that the regime was accepted in a spontaneous and direct way, but in what it turned after a previous repression which disarticulated the opposition.

In general, in all the non-totalitarian regimes with a dictatorial nature there are some independent sectors which are not under the political power emerged from the only existing party; among them the most relevant are the Catholic Church and the Army.

Needless to say that the Catholicism played a very important role in the "Franquism", to such an extent that it could be regarded as the intellectual element of the regime during a great part of its existence. However, this situation only applies to the period previous to 1962 in which the national-Catholicism was not only a political phenomenon but also a feature of all the Spanish society and as a consequence also of the Church. The Church always enjoyed an area of autonomy that included a great part of the education.

With regard to the Army, we have to mention that it was not only an autonomous area, not submitted to the party or the politics of the state, but that the dictatorship may be characterized much more as military than as from the "falange". Anyway, it should be stated that it was not a dictatorship from the whole Army, only from that part that won the Civil War and that was transformed by it. To sum up, the regime existing in Spain between 1939 and 1975 was not a dictatorship of the Army but of Franco, who was a General.

The "Franquism" is clearly defined by Tusell⁴ when he says that it does not have features which turn it radically into a unique phenomenon which can not be repeated. Its peculiarity lies on the fact that it was born as a result of a civil war, what made possible the intention of staying in power for a long time, due also to Franco's flexibility. Furthermore, the lack of a defined ideology allowed Franco to take different dictatorships, going from the fascism in the forties to a developmentarist dictatorship in the sixties. Another feature that for a long time could be considered as not frequent was that at the moment when the dictatorship disappeared, a peaceful transition to democracy took place, but this did not depend on the regime itself, but on the changes produced in the Spanish society, mainly in the sixties, and on the capacity – at those times – of the leading political class, both from the regime and the opposition.

In 1947, Franco proclaimed Spain a monarchy, but did not designate a monarch. This gesture was largely done to appease monarchist factions within the Movement. In spite of being a self-proclaimed monarchist himself, Franco had no particular desire for a king, and as such, he left the throne vacant, with himself as de facto regent. He wore the uniform of a Captain General (a rank traditionally reserved for the King) and resided in the El Pardo Palace.

After the civil war, the ones who won wanted to start again the History of Spain, that at the same time pretended to be the reconstruction of an imperial past. They did it with the enthusiasm born from the victory. That enthusiasm was composed in equal parts of the nationalism and the Catholicism, both of them closely linked and with the intention of leaving aside the past. The nationalism could be exemplified with anecdotes such as changing foreign names into Spanish ones, for example the "English Hotel" turned into The "National Hotel", they changed the names of food, places of entertainment, accommodation, industries and so on. Besides they were asking people to speak the

⁴ Javier TUSELL, *Historia de España en el siglo XX, Tomo III*, Madrid, Taurus, 1998

language of the empire, and in that way the vernacular languages were forbidden and only Spanish (that is to say, Castilian) was promoted. Language politics in Franco's Spain stated that all government, legal and commercial documents were drawn up exclusively in Spanish and any written in other languages were deemed null and void. The best known case is Catalonia that shows clearly the decision taken by Franco's regime which consisted of destroying any trace of local culture. The Catalan language was only permitted in the familiar private use. All the press printed in Catalan disappeared and so did the Catalan language in theatres, music, and at the university.

The Spanish Catholicism was felt as the appropriate for Spain, and the best too. It was an elemental and deep religiosity and it was reflected in an extreme clericalism.

There was a substantial identification between the catholic religion and the national feeling for the country.

Should we make reference to the winners of the civil war, we also have to mention what happened with the defeated ones. It is widely known the massive exile that caused the victory of Franco after the civil war, an emigration that could be found all around the world. And concerning the ones who stayed in the country, we must say that all the repression was taken against them, they were exiled in their own land, with very few job possibilities and professional punishments.

The years of Franco's regime we are particularly interested in, the fifties, could be described as the ones where a recovery and development was appreciated. Strange as it may seem, although the regime was a dictatorship, it turned to be stable and passively accepted up to the point of saying that there was a general consent from the society to keep it. Anyway, this can be explained by the existing repression and the disarticulation of the opposition. But the fact is that by 1951 Franco's regime had overcome its worst moment of existence in the years of the immediate world post war. In the forties the "Franquism" continued being a personal dictatorship with a difficult and even apparently impossible doctrinal definition, and Spain was, in the European context, a marginal country sentenced to the economic underdevelopment.

But then an important change took place. Spain began to get international recognition, and despite not being yet considered in the same way as the neighbouring countries, at least it meant a radical mutation from the previous years. For instance, there was the new concordat with the Holy See on August 1953. The Vatican confirmed the Church's recognition of Franco's power by granting him the right to the final choice of a bishop from a list of several candidates proposed by the pope. While it is true to say that this concordat added very little to the existing relationship between both powers, the mere fact of being signed meant a kind of recognition for a country that pretended to be essentially catholic.

In addition to this, a month later there was the agreement with the United States. We have to remember that with the end of World War II, Franco and Spain were forced to suffer the economic consequences of the isolation imposed on it by nations such as the United Kingdom and the United States. The situation ended in part when, due to Spain's strategic location in light Cold War tensions, the United States entered into a trade and military alliance with Spain. This historic alliance commenced with United States President Eisenhower's visit in 1953 which resulted in the Pact of Madrid. This launched the "Spanish Miracle", which developed Spain from corporatist autarky into semi-capitalism. Spain's population would experience an enormous increase in personal wealth, Spain was admitted to the United Nations in 1955. In spite of this, once in power, Franco almost never left Spain.



Francisco Franco and President Eisenhower
in Madrid

In 1968, due to the United Nations' pressure, Franco granted Spain's colony of Equatorial Guinea its independence, and the next year, ceded the exclave of Ifni to Morocco. Under Franco, Spain also pursued a campaign to gain sovereignty of the British colony of Gibraltar, and closed the border in 1969, which was not fully reopened until 1985.

In 1969, he announced that on his death he would be replaced by Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, designating him with the new title of Prince of Spain. This came as a surprise for the Carlist pretender to the throne, as well as for Juan Carlos's father, Don Juan, the Count of Barcelona, who technically had a superior right to the throne.

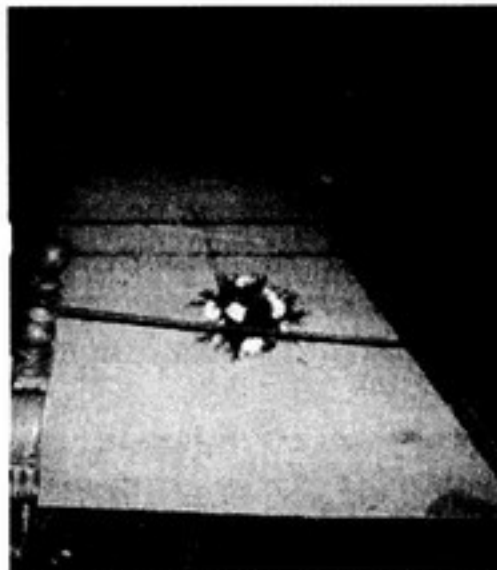


On 23rd July 1969, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón swore loyalty to the Head of State and fidelity to the principles of the National Movement and the other essential laws.

By 1973, Franco had surrendered the function of prime minister, remaining only as head of state and commander in chief of the military. As his final years progressed, tension within the various factions of the movement would consume Spanish political life, as varying groups jockeyed for position to control the country's future.

Franco's intended successor, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco was killed in 1973 by a car bomb by the Basque separatist group ETA.

Franco died on 20th November 1975.



Franco's tomb in El Valle de los Caídos in Madrid



Franco's tomb is located in the Valle de los Caídos, which has since been turned into a Memorial to all casualties of the Spanish Civil war.

Culture during Franco's regime

The civil war of 1936-1939, and Franco's victory in it (that is to say, of the Army, the church, the "Falange", the Carlist traditionalism and the conservative monarchism) meant the end of the exceptional cultural moment that Spain experienced in the first thirty years of the century thanks to the performance of the so-called generations of the '98, '14 and '27. Many well-known intellectuals and artists (Miró, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Casals, Sánchez Albornoz, and many others) supported the Republic and chose the exile. Even though there were many others who supported Franco, a single event, the murderer of García Lorca, which shocked the whole world, represented for the European consciousness the destiny of culture under Franco's regime.

Franco was a conservative, catholic, anticomunist militar and as such he mistrusted the intellectual world. As a reaction against the II Republic, he did not want his regime to have intellectual connotations.

Fusi⁵ defines Franco as the incarnation of a desolating prosaism. In fact, the cultural policy in his regime was more of a negative policy of control through censorship than an affirmative policy of creating an own and original culture. Such censorship was put into practice firmly and severely to the press, books, radio, theatre and cinema. The teaching at all the different levels and the intellectual professionals were depurated; for years the work done by Liberals such as Unamuno and Ortega, not just the Republicans as Machado or communists as Lorca and Miguel Hernández, (who died in jail in 1942) was kept in the complete silence or systematically denigrated.

The press experienced a radical regression due to the Law 22nd April 1938 which was in force until 1966. Many newspapers with a liberal or republican tendency were

⁵ Juan Pablo FUSI, *Un siglo de España, La cultura*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1999

prohibited and their buildings seized by the State. Franco's regime got an important control of the media (press, radio, informative agencies) of public property and to its service, which initially was controlled by the Falange through the National Delegation of Press and Advertisement of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, although from 1951 all would end up depending on the Ministry of Information and Tourism. The State allowed forty newspapers, the so-called press of the Movement, two official news agencies, two chains of radio stations and an own editorial, the National Editorial. Moreover, the press, both the state and the private, would only work under previous censorship and official instructions. The state could even appoint the directors of all the private and public media. This right was put into practice even with the important independent newspapers such as *ABC* and *Ya* from Madrid, and *La Vanguardia* from Barcelona.

The cinemas were obliged to show before every film an official news, the NO-DO (*Noticiarios y Documentales Cinematográficos*), created in 1942. The National Radio kept the monopoly of the information. The control by the state, official instructions and censorship was responding to an ideological project of a greater scale: to establish again the catholic dogma and the national idealism because catholicism constituted the essential element of the Spanish nationality and of the national unity, and the defence of the catholicism had been the essence of the Spanish imperial power. Those were the principles that in a first moment defined the "Franquist" culture.

The civil war influenced art, with portraits and statues of Franco, iconography of the war, poetry, numerous novels and narratives of personal experiences and a literature which was idealized, militaristic, promoter of the system and a mere heroic glorification of the winners. But beyond the war, the regime wanted to inherit and continue the imperial past: the Golden century, the architecture of the Escorial, the neoclassic poetry of the Renaissance, the spirituality of the Spanish mystics. The pieces of art of the Prado Museum were rescued. They had been deposited in Geneva by the Republicans for safety when Madrid was bombed by Franco's air force.

The catholic culture acquired an exceptional and dominating role. The church was in control of the education in Spain. With the University Law of 1943, the university, which continued being public, was under the catholic religion. The Law established the compulsory catholic religious teaching at the Spanish universities, measure that was in force until the end of the dictatorship. The philosophy lectures were taught by religious and catholic thinkers, and the catholic philosophy replaced the philosophy of Ortega as "official".

The historiography of the '40's promoted the glorification of the "official" past: the Catholic Kings, the discovery and the work in America, Charles V and Philip II. The Franquism idealized first the kingdom of the Catholic Kings as a symbol of national

unity and also the Empire and the action in America. In 1940 a Spanish Institute (from 1946 Institute of the Spain Culture) was founded with the aim of promoting the Spanish presence in the Spanish world: therefore, the Americanism started to occupy a position of privilege in the Spanish historiography.

The official architecture took as reference the style of the Escorial, symbol of the Austrias' Spain. This was shown in the Ministry of the Air of Madrid (1942-1951), the Arch of Triumph (1956), and the *Valle de los Caídos*, by Pedro Muguruza, a huge mausoleum for the ones fallen in the war "for God and for Spain". Its construction was supervised by Franco and it took twenty years to finish it (1940-1959). Franco is buried there as well as José Antonio Primo de Rivera.

With respect to painting and sculpture, the expositions of religious art, the Passion and paintings of Africa took place until the beginnings of the fifties. The regime returned to a traditional and academic style, the conventional approach to the landscapes, still life and portraits. The special hostility of the regime towards Picasso and Miró symbolized the incompatibility between Franquism and the artistic creativity.

However, while it is true to say that in the fifties and beginning of the sixties a new political class emerged, which still continues present in the Spanish public life, the same can be said about the intellectual world. This fact allowed Spain to develop for the first time since the civil war, closing the wounds and opening a path towards the generalization of the democratic idea of living together. In this aspect we can find the parallelism with the economic evolution. What happened with the Spanish culture of that time can be briefly explained by saying that an important quick recovery of the wasted time since the war took place, establishing a harmony, at least partial, between the two Spains divided by the civil war and announcing a future way of thinking that was generalized in the final stage of the Franquism.

The evolution of many of the most relevant thinkers of the Spain of that time and of the later one was characterized by the link established with the exile and the Spanish liberal tradition. The most representative discussion of that cultural moment was the one arouse about Ortega y Gasset. He was not well received by the most national-catholic positions while he at the same time attracted the most valuable Spanish intellectuality of the time. This fact testifies that the presence of this philosopher in Spain contributed in an important way to the transformation in a positive and liberal way of the Spanish intellectual universe.

There are other interesting aspects of the evolution of the Spanish thinking which happened at the beginning of the sixties. For instance, the principles of the recovery of the cultures of the peripheral Spain: there were already more that fifty books published in Catalan. New books and magazines were published which were not responding to the

ideology of the regime.

As it can be seen, there is a political element in the main aspects of the evolution of the thought, something which appears in the fiction literature. Around 1950 the Spanish narrative produced a change tending to recover the daily and historical reality, a testimony of the surrounding world. This change was also observed in the social poetry and even the theatre. Machado was the person chosen by the new generation of writers, or by those belonging to past times but who evolved according to the new tendencies, as the Spanish mentor and he was lavished praises and taken as instrument of generational identification.

The realistic attitude and the political commitment were shown in many different ways. Most of the young writers of that time felt an evident political disappointment, a situation of indigence of a generation who had been a dumb victim of the civil war and also a need to accuse, at least morally, the society.

Historicity, realism, commitment, testimony and denunciation were also the main features of the poetry of the fifties and the first half of the sixties. The youngest poets rebelled against the unreality of the forties.

In painting and cinematography is where the cultural changes, which were produced in the arts in those central years of the Franquism, are best perceived together with the ones occurred in literature. In both cases there was a certain recovery of historical memory, and at the same time a cosmopolitan need of opening. It is also possible to perceive in these two activities critical elements of the surrounding reality, especially in the cinema, where the new realism is connected clearly with the social novel of the time, as well as in some manifestations of the plastic arts. The Spanish cinema counted in 1953 with an international festival in San Sebastián, trying to compete with Cannes, Berlin and Venice. It promoted the comedy, the Andalusian folk, the bulls and the religious cinema.

In the first years of the fifties signs of approval and even of promotion of the avant-garde art were present for the first time in official circumstances. The expositions of recent American, Italian or French art became a normal event. Nevertheless, it was only in the second half of the decade when the informalism was definitely imposed.

As regards music, at the beginning of the fifties the music festivals of Santander and Granada were created. In 1950 Bilbao had a regular opera season and in 1956 the pure flamenco music and dancing re-emerged with the First Competition of Singing in Córdoba and also thanks to the record industry and to the presentations of numerous festivals, "tablaos" (wooden platform where flamenco is danced) and competitions. In the sixties, the dancer Antonio Gades turned the flamenco into a modern dance. In 1963 the Catalan movement of the Nova Canço (new song) was born with singers such as Raimon, Joan Manuel Serrat and Pi de la Serra.

Anyway, as Fusi⁶ explains, that potential threat of cultural emptiness which the failure of the Franquist official culture meant did not end up materializing. Ironically, such emptiness would be replaced by the same liberal culture that the Franquism initially wanted to eliminate. It is true to say, that the Franquism did not contribute anything to culture as a regime. But as a regime because as Julián Marías once mentioned the cultural and intellectual work carried out by liberal and independent writers and essayists during the dictatorship, who did not exile or returned soon to Spain, permitted that the intellectual Spanish continuity of the XX century was never completely interrupted. Marías outlined that many important writers, such as Menéndez Pidal, D'Ors, Ortega and even the same Julián Marías himself, published many of their best books during the decades of 1940 and 1950.

By and large, the generation of the fifties was a clear anti-Franquism generation. Many of its members felt close to the Marxism and the clandestine Communist Party; many of them were sent to prison due to their clandestine political activities; most of them participated in events which showed an open opposition to the regime of Franco, such as the signature of documents against censorship, against repression and the support to the struggles led by workers and students.

The most intelligent elements of the regime itself could understand how significant the change which was taking place in the Spanish culture was and, from the sixties, and in particular with the presence of Manuel Fraga Iribarne in the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1962, a timid and contradictory liberalization began, which ended with the new Law of Press in 1966, which implied, among other things, economic support to promote the cinema, theatre and music, and more tolerance with the editorials and the progressive magazines.

The dictatorship was not able to disarticulate the regional cultures. For instance, the Catalan culture, much more risky than any other Spanish cultures, had survived the silence and the prohibition. It goes without saying the importance and quality of Catalan writers, actors, musicians, singers and artists. As soon as it was possible the editorials and publications in the Catalan language appeared. But the cultural affirmation of Catalonia, which implied the perception of Catalonia as a nation, was already evident in the sixties, when they claimed that Catalan was the only language of Catalonia and they were defined as a nation.

There was also the Basque case, which had a weaker cultural tradition. A number of remarkable cultural events occurred at that time. The building of the sanctuary of Aránzazu between 1950 and 1955 by the architect Javier Sáenz de Oiza, meant a true declaration of the revolutionary art and anticipated the appearance of a new Basque art orientated to the experimentation and the avant-garde. The Basque culture and literature experienced in the sixties a first revival after the civil war. A new generation of writers

⁶ Juan Pablo FUSI, *Un siglo de España, La cultura*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1999

emerged and they renewed completely the topics and the expressive ways of the Basque literature. The philologist Koldo Mitxelena, author in 1960 of an influential history of the Basque literature, was in the late sixties the person who mostly encouraged to unify the Basque language.

Not only in Catalonia and the Basque country the regional cultures were reappearing. In 1962, Joan Fuster published "*Nosaltres els valencians*" (We, the Valencians), an essay about the historical and cultural personality of Valencia and Celso Emilio Ferreiro, *Longa noite da pedra*, a poem which marked the final resurgence of the Galician culture that had started in the decade of the fifties. In the sixties, Andalusian essayists, economists, sociologists and historians had been projecting in books of an academic style, a new vision of Andalusia, identified with economic and social problems and not with the stereotyped image (gypsies, bulls, singing, The Holy Week) widely spread by the traditional folk, even more in the sixties due to the needs of the tourism of the region.

Experimentalism, renewing will, liberation of narrative procedures: such was the language in the decade of 1970 of the young Spanish writers and of the ones who acquired the new tendencies. It seemed that they were returning to the idea that the purpose of literature was focused more on the aesthetic and linguistic revolution than on the social criticism, and to the conception of the writer's commitment as a fundamentally literary commitment.

The gap between the Spanish thought and the regime of Franco was enormous in 1970, something which would turn to be decisive in the transition to democracy at Franco's death.

The evolution of culture was putting into evidence the huge cultural, ideological and intellectual emptiness which the final years of the regime was suffering. It was facing its own contradictions. Despite the freedom of the sixties, in 1972 the government closed the newspaper *Madrid*, the most liberal of the Spanish newspapers. This event was useless because it did not succeed in keeping the press silent.

In 1974, when the political parties were still forbidden, "*Partidos and programas politicos, 1808-1936*" appeared. It was a monumental study (two volumes) done by the historian Miguel Artola where the evolution of the parties along the XIX and XX centuries was analysed. The meaning of all this was quite clear: the intellectual consciousness of the Spain of the seventies was a mostly democratic consciousness.

All things considered, we can have an overall picture of what the Spain that the Valencians were leaving was like when they decided to come to Buenos Aires. The fact of the matter is that it was not the same Spain for the ones who escaped for political reasons during or immediately after the civil war, or the Spain abandoned in the late forties or early fifties by those who were looking for better economic and social conditions.

We have made a brief account of Franco's regime to have a global idea of his government and the situation existing in Spain during all those long years. Franco's policy changed and adjusted to the different circumstances and the development of the events and it was a wise decision that he took or we can better say the best option he had in order to stay in power until his death, which meant thirty-six uninterrupted years with the full control of a nation.



Francisco Franco with Hitler in Hendaya, on the French frontier
23rd October 1940



Francisco Franco with the First Argentine Lady,
Evita, in 1947



Argentina gave Spain a loan of 750 million dollars
and a year later The "Protocol Franco-Perón"
was signed in Buenos Aires



On 6th July 1960 Franco officially received
Arturo Frondizi, president of Argentina



With the Minister of Information and
Tourism, Fraga in 1964



The former French president Charles de Gaulle with Franco
On 8th June 1970 in Madrid.



With the American president Richard Nixon in Madrid in 1970.



Franco and his wife with Prince Juan Carlos and the Princess Sofia



Franco and Prince Juan Carlos, now the King of Spain

(all the above photographs have been taken from the web page of the National Foundation Francisco Franco, www.fnff.es)

1.4 SPANISH IMMIGRATION. CENSUS OF VALENCIANS IN BUENOS AIRES

The Spanish people have been very active as far as international migration is concerned, and from the second third of the XIX century they participated in a great extent in the international migratory movements. In general terms, they chose as their destiny those places which could offer them working and investment opportunities, where they could develop economically and socially.

Between 1860 and 1930, 5.5 million migrations to regions outside Europe could be observed with mainly two destinies. One to Argelia, originated in the Levantine provinces (Almería, Murcia, Alicante) and that comprised approximately 900,000 migrations through the Mediterranean between 1872 and 1930. The other to America by about 4.5 million Spanish people between 1860 and 1930. In the American continent, Argentina and Cuba were the mostly chosen places, followed by countries like Uruguay, Puerto Rico and Brazil. Strange as it may seem, the United States of America, which was the country that the Europeans of that time chose as the main destiny for immigration in the international field, was not the final choice for most Spanish people.

As regards the importance that the group of emigrated Spaniards had in the American societies, we can state that the Argentine census of 1914 gave a proportion of fifteen per cent of Spanish people in the total population of the Republic and the thirty-five per cent of foreign residents. On the other hand, in Cuba, the census of 1919 gave the result of eight per cent of Spaniards over the total population, and seventy-two per cent of foreigners.

To have a better understanding of how the Spanish immigration was growing at the end of the nineteenth century year after year, we can observe the data provided by the following tables:

TABLE 1
Spanish emigrants coming to Argentina from overseas and arrived directly from Spain at the end of the XIX century⁷

Year	1	2	3	4	5
1892	5,650	3,907	4,388	30.1	89.0
1893	7,100	4,914	6,620	30.8	74.2
1894	8,122	6,041	6,894	25.7	87.6
1895	11,288	7,808	7,588	37.3	102.9
1896			11,421		
1897	18,316	13,059	9,795	28.7	133.3
1898			12,637		
1899	19,798	15,237	9,957	23.0	153.0

References:

- 1- Spanish immigrants arrived in Argentina from overseas.
- 2- Immigrants arrived in Argentina put aboard in Spanish ports.
- 3- Passengers who left from Spanish ports to Argentina
- 4- Proportion of (2-1) on 1
- 5- Proportion of 2 on 3

Sources: MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, *Memoria de la Dirección Nacional de Inmigración, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1899*, Buenos Aires.
 GEOGRAPHIC AND STATISTIC INSTITUE, *Estadística de la emigración e inmigración de España, 1891-1895 y 1896-1900*, Madrid.

⁷ Ápod César YAÑEZ GALLARDO, "Argentina como país de destino. La emigración española entre 1860-1930", *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, Buenos Aires, N°13, diciembre de 1989, págs. 467-497, pág.478.

TABLE 2
Spanish people in Argentina according to
the boarding port, 1913⁸

	Arrived in Argentina	Departed from Spain
Almería	11,498	11,629
Barcelona	19,618	20,792
Bilbao	4,626	4,658
Cádiz	10,310	8,679
Canarias	1,197	956
La Coruña	16,611	17,170
Gijón	2,866	2,948
Málaga	1,886	2,015
Santander	1,882	2,072
Valence	4,804	4,979
Vigo	28,923	35,114
Villagarcía	5,135	-----
TOTAL	109,912	110,912

Sources: NATIONAL DIRECTION OF MIGRATION, MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, *Memoria de la Dirección de Inmigración de 1913*; SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF EMIGRATION, *Boletín del Consejo Superior de Emigración*, 1913, Madrid, 1914.

After analyzing the information provided in the above tables we can draw some conclusions. For instance, at the end of the XIX century, the thirty per cent of the Spanish emigrants who arrived in Argentina, had boarded in European ports that were not Spanish, although that percentage would decrease at about a ten or fifteen per cent in the first decades of the XX century. We can also observe, especially in the last five years of the century, that the arrival of Spanish emigrants from Spanish ports was superior to the departures recorded by the Spanish statistics, and in 1899 by over the fifty per cent.

⁸ *Ibidem*

To put it briefly, a high percentage of Spanish immigrants who arrived in Argentina had left Spain to neighbouring countries, probably by land, where they finally boarded towards the River Plate. Later on, this percentage tended to decrease. The ports often used were the ones of Oporto, Lisbon and Bordeaux, and by boarding there many Spaniards were hiding their migratory intention to the Spanish authorities, that is to say, we are talking about clandestine migration. Anyway, not all the immigrants boarding from there had that intention, as since decades before those ports had often been used by Basques and Galicians. Something similar happened with the port of Gibraltar for the regions in the south of Spain. The ports of the neighbouring countries can also be considered as traditional routes for the Spanish emigration. Therefore, it is not possible to determine precisely the proportion of legal and clandestine emigration.

We have already mentioned two migratory tendencies: Algeria and America. To complete this regional specialization of the Spanish emigration, we can state: the littoral with high migratory percentages and the interior almost totally lacking migratory intercontinental movements; the Mediterranean Levantine, orientated to the north of Africa, and the provinces of the north to America.

As regards the regional behaviour of the Spanish emigration to Argentina, most of the Spaniards during the periods 1885-1890 and 1916-1921 came from the regions of the north. First in number were the Galicians, followed at a certain distance by the Asturians, the Catalans, the Leonese, and the Basques. But the migratory contribution of each of these regions was not homogeneous, having important variations in time and provincial concentrations to the interior of these regions.

The regional behaviour can be analysed with the data provided in Table 3 below. In the period 1885-1890, high fluctuations can be observed, the reasons for which can be found in the policy of subsidized tickets that the Argentine government was offering, especially during 1888 and 1889. In the regional *distribution it is distinguished the Galician emigration, only surpassed by the* Andalusian emigrants in 1889, who represented the 34.6 per cent of the Spanish emigration to Argentina, thanks to the policy of subsidized tickets. The Galician emigrants came from Pontevedra (who particularly settled in the River Plate) and La Coruña (who emigrated to Argentina as well as to Cuba). Then the Catalans, especially from the province of Barcelona, which represented between the sixty and seventy-five per cent of the Catalans who came to Argentina. Thirdly Asturias, which also sent many emigrants to Cuba and Puerto Rico.

TABLE 3⁹
Emigration to Argentina: regional participation
1885-1890 and 1916-1921

	Galicia	Asturias	León	Old Castile	New Castile	Extremadura	Andalucia
1885	71.1	3.2	1.2	1	1.1	----	2.7
1886	55.4	7.0	4.1	2.1	0.9	----	2.8
1887	69.6	7.2	2.3	1.6	0.3	----	1.3
1888	49.6	7.5	3.3	3.5	2.1	0.5	5.3
1889	20.3	12.5	2.7	4.6	1.9	----	34.6
1890	45.2	15.4	4.9	2.9	1.6	----	7.2
1916	39.7	8.1	14.1	8.4	1.7	0.7	8.3
1917	41.9	5.2	9.3	8.9	2.3	1.1	9.1
1918	47.6	7.9	9.4	7.1	2.3	0.5	10
1919	53	6.9	11.6	7.3	1.1	0.8	6.4
1920	52	6.5	12.4	5.8	1.4	1.3	8.9
1921	51.2	7.2	11	4.3	1.0	0.9	9.8

	Murcia	Valence	Catalonia	Aragon	Baleares	Canaries	Basque C. and Navarra	Spain
1885	----	1.4	13.8	0.8	1.9	1.4	0.8	100
1886	0.2	1.4	17.6	1.2	2.6	3.8	0.9	100
1887	0.1	1.3	9.2	0.6	0.6	4.7	1.2	100
1888	0.5	2.5	13.2	2.1	1.2	3.1	6.1	100
1889	0.3	3.4	7.8	2.1	4.1	1.8	3.4	100
1890	0.1	1.4	11.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	5.7	100
1916	0.5	3.3	5.5	1.7	2.1	0.5	5.4	100
1917	0.9	3.7	5.6	2	2.4	0.4	5.2	100
1918	0.2	2.9	4.5	1.1	2.1	0.5	3.9	100
1919	0.6	2.1	2.3	1.4	1.3	1	4.2	100
1920	0.6	1.8	3	0.8	2.1	0.4	3	100
1921	0.4	1.8	4.9	0.8	3	0.6	3.1	100

Sources: 1885-1890, Emigration and immigration statistics of Spain, 1882-1890.
1916-1921, Report from the Superior Council of Spanish Emigration

⁹ Ibidem, pág. 486.

Were we to compare the percentage that each region contributes to the Argentine population, considering the proportion of Spanish population (Table 4), Galicia, Catalonia and Asturias participated in the emigration to Argentina in a higher proportion as regards its relevance in the Spanish population. As a whole the three regions represented the three quarters of the emigration, whereas its population was a quarter of the Spanish one.

The second period, between 1916 and 1921, belongs to the years of the First World War and the immediate post-war. During those years, Galicia and Asturias keep their central position, followed by the Leonese provinces- León, Salamanca and Zamora- which together add the 65.8 per cent of the emigrants. Canaries and Catalonia have lost their importance, especially during the period of the post-war, although the port of Barcelona is very busy with an intensive traffic with South America. Anyway, new regions have emerged, especially Old Castile and some provinces from Andalusia.

TABLE 4¹⁰
Regional distribution of the Spanish population in 1860 and 1910

	1860	1910
Galicia	11.5	10.3
Asturias	3.4	3.4
León	5.4	5.0
Old Castile	10.4	9.3
New Castile	9.6	10.8
Extremadura	4.6	5.0
Andalucía	18.9	19.2
Murcia	3.8	4.4
Valence	8.2	8.6
Catalonia	10.7	10.5
Aragon	5.7	4.8
Baleares	1.7	1.6
Canaries	1.5	2.2
Basque C. and Navarra	4.7	4.9

Source: J. NADAL, *La población española (Siglos XVI a XX). Edición corregida y aumentada*, Barcelona, 1974, pág.188.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pág.487.

The expansion of the Spanish emigration to Argentina began approximately in 1885. In quantitative terms, between 1887 and 1890, 125,736 Spanish immigrants came to Argentina, more than the 103,551 that had arrived from 1857 to 1886. This growth took place in a short period of time of less than ten years, with a historical highest number in 1889, followed just two years later with a very low number in 1891. The recovery would be produced only after 1895. In the three years between 1886 and 1889, the Spanish emigration to Argentina multiplied by seven.

There is no doubt that the reason for this spectacular growth was the policy of subsidized tickets put into practice by the Argentine government. The year when the Spanish emigration to Argentina got its highest level of the XIX century, three quarters of the emigrants travelled with subsidized tickets.

In short, the first great Spanish migratory impulse to Argentina, which happened between 1886 and 1889, can be explained, partly, by the changes produced in the world economic context – expansion of the Argentine economy and problems in the Spanish agriculture – which allowed more movement of the economic factors, and at the same time that the capitalism grew in importance. On the other hand, political and institutional factors influenced on the destiny of the emigrants. Argentina put into practice an active policy of attracting the emigrants, which was used by the transport companies to raise their presence in the Spanish ports, where their emigration agents were operating. Finally, the collapse of the migration to Cuba, from 1895, made it possible that a higher proportion of Spanish emigrants decided to go to South America.

The first three decades of the XX century is the moment of the most Spanish emigration to America. During these years, not only did the Spanish emigration increase but it also changed. The Spanish and Argentine sources agree on saying that the Spanish emigration continued being rural, but from the end of the century it was composed in a greater part by day labourers, pointing out the loss of qualification of the Spanish emigrant.

The easy conditions granted by Argentina in order to re-unify the families of the immigrants made it possible that the emigration system by means of the call ticket (*pasaje de llamada*) was widely generalized, and turned to be one of the most used instruments for the call of immigrants. By means of this system, it was possible that the regional relationships raised the migrations, favouring the regional concentration of the emigrants, and at the same time making easy the interaction of the emigrants in the country of reception.

We have already analyzed the arrival of Spanish immigrants during the period of the Great Immigration to understand that we are not talking about isolated movements, on the contrary, it was a constant and massive organized entrance to our country. We have already mentioned the causes which led to that emigration, causes emerging both in Spain and Argentina. That was our starting point to finally get to the period we are studying, the fifties. In fact, we are interested in the fifties and among the Spanish people, the Valencians. But let us start with the fifties.

We can state the number of Spanish people who came to Argentina from 1951, but we can only refer to Spaniards, omitting their place of origin. This is due to the fact that the immigrants did not need to specify where they came from, just to mention their country was enough. All this information was obtained from the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, in the library of the National Direction of Migrations and the National Museum of Immigration. The data is specified up to the year 1976, when there was a coup d'état in Argentina. From that moment no records can be found about any kind of immigration.

We have been forced to make several tables because the information collected was providing different data, what made it really difficult to compile all the years in only one table. Every year was recorded in one folder, and each folder was designed in a particular way. Therefore, we can observe that from 1951 to 1955 it is specified the means of entrance, men and women and their condition at arriving (permanent, in transit, tourist); from 1956 to 1958 the entrance and departure is included but all the rest of the information is omitted; and from 1959 to 1976 neither the means of entrance nor the sex of the immigrants is specified.

**Table 5. Arrival of Spaniards from 1951 to 1955
from overseas. First class.**

YEAR	1951 TO 1955 FROM OVERSEAS FIRST CLASS							
	PERMANENT		TEMPORARY		DIPLOMATIC and O.S		IN TRANSIT	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1951	355	363	20	23	33	36	42	37
1952	218	208	10	8	19	25	130	109
1953	15	12	18	29	18	29	115	81
1954	8	28	11	7	35	37	88	59
1955	18	39	8	13	7	11	60	66

N.B.: O.S. refers to Official Service

YEAR	1951 TO 1955 FROM OVERSEAS FIRST CLASS					
	TOURISTS		OLD RESIDENTS		CONDITIONAL IMMIG.	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1951	52	47	226	209	0	0
1952	59	87	302	236	5	2
1953	77	86	244	237	0	0
1954	91	97	252	213	5	6
1955	66	88	286	215	10	11

YEAR	1951 TO 1955 FROM OVERSEAS FIRST CLASS	
	TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRIVALS	
	MEN	WOMEN
1951	729	715
1952	743	675
1953	505	495
1954	490	447
1955	455	443

Source: Records from the National Direction of Migrations, Buenos Aires, National Museum of the Immigration.

**Table 6. Arrival of Spaniards from 1951 to 1955.
From overseas. Second and third class.**

YEAR	1951 TO 1955 FROM OVERSEAS SECOND AND THIRD CLASS							
	PERMANENT		TEMPORARY		DIPLOMATIC and O.S		IN TRANSIT	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1951	16,352	15,334	27	28	2	5	606	410
1952	10,128	10,582	16	12	13	15	653	428
1953	2,543	3,510	49	52	16	19	491	346
1954	1,732	3,168	56	43	10	9	465	319
1955	1,981	3,557	47	49	15	18	485	325

YEAR	1951 TO 1955 FROM OVERSEAS SECOND AND THIRD CLASS					
	TOURISTS		OLD RESIDENTS		CONDITIONAL IMMIG.	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1951	65	32	1,490	949	0	0
1952	200	128	1,841	1,197	846	-- 666
1953	144	71	2,106	1,419	1,998	2,108
1954	272	183	3,004	2,083	1,682	1,450
1955	402	200	3,231	2,546	2,066	1,917

YEAR	1951 TO 1955 FROM OVERSEAS SECOND AND THIRD CLASS	
	TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRIVALS	
	MEN	WOMEN
1951	18,542	16,758
1952	13,697	13,028
1953	7,347	7,525
1954	7,221	7,255
1955	8,227	8,612

Source: Records from the National Direction of Migrations, Buenos Aires, National Museum of the Immigration.

**Table 7. Arrival of Spaniards from 1951 to 1955.
By river and plane.**

BY RIVER 1951 – 1955			
ARRIVAL		DEPARTURE	
MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
4,776	3,176	4,595	2,799
2,476	1,353	2,415	1,459
399	342	367	322
412	391	342	343
1,315	916	1,432	1,023

YEAR	BY PLANE 1951 – 1955			
	ARRIVAL		DEPARTURE	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1951	2,785	1,356	2,496	1,206
1952	2,403	1,333	1,834	1,167
1953	2,182	1,106	1,989	1,260
1954	2,428	1,351	2,295	1,227
1955	2,274	1,283	2,515	1,445

Source: Records from the National Direction of Migrations, Buenos Aires, National Museum of the Immigration.

By analyzing these tables several conclusions can be drawn. To begin with, the number of permanent passengers who arrived between 1951 and 1952 is much higher than the one of those passengers who arrived later from 1953 to 1955. For instance, the ones who came from overseas in first class in 1951 and 1952 represented the 90.51% of all the permanent passengers arrived in those five years (1951-1955); those from overseas in second and third class represented the 77.51% and the ones who came by river the 75.73% . However, the number of passengers who arrived by plane does not differ so much, it decreases little by little, only rising in 1954 and falling again in 1955. This can be explained by remembering the situation existing at that time both in Argentina and in Spain.

With respect to Argentina, it was the second presidency of the General Perón, which was marked by a political and economic crisis. Political, as there had been a previous attempt of a coup d'état in 1951 led by General Benjamín Menéndez, Julio Alsogaray and Alejandro Lanusse. It was a time characterised by a decline in the economic prosperity and the constant threat of inflation. We should also take into consideration that this second presidency of Perón did not end in the proper term as a result of the coup d'état led by the General Lonardi, who was supported by many divisions of the army and the complete navy, in 1955 in a movement baptized the "Liberating Revolution". Consequently, the social and economic conditions that Argentina could offer at that time were not so appealing for the new immigrants as the ones of the previous years.

In contrast, Spain was experimenting a change too, but a positive one. After the end of the World War II, Spain had suffered economic consequences because of the measures of isolation put into practice by nations such as the United Kingdom and the United States. But this situation which did not allow Spain to grow economically and to

be part of the rest of Europe ended when the United States entered into a trade and military alliance with Spain. This historic alliance commenced with United States President Eisenhower's visit in 1953 and resulted in the Pact of Madrid. This caused the "Spanish Miracle": Spain's population could experience an enormous increase in personal wealth, and finally Spain was admitted to the United Nations in 1955 letting the country be part of the international community.

For the above mentioned reasons we can understand why the number of Spanish immigrants who arrived on a permanent basis was so high in the first two years (1951, 1952) and it clearly diminished in the following three years (1953-1955). Argentina was no longer an attractive destination and Spain had more possibilities and future prospects to offer its native people.

On the other hand we can appreciate that the number of tourists who came in those years experienced the opposite situation, that is to say, it increased in the last three years, from 1953 to 1955. For example, the tourists who came from overseas in first class in those years represented the 67.50% of the total of the five years; the ones who came from overseas in second and third class were the 75%. This can be interpreted in two ways: first, that as there was a permanent population of Spanish immigrants already living in Argentina, it was understandable that other Spaniards were coming just to visit their relatives or friends; and secondly, as the economic situation improved in Spain, the Spanish people had more probabilities to come as tourists and spend their money here.

In addition to this, if we compare this immigration to the one that took place at the end of the nineteenth century or beginning of the twentieth, the number of men and women who entered our country did not differ. In the past immigration in masses, men usually came first to settle down and after that, the rest of the family arrived. Table 5 shows the total of Spanish immigrants who came from 1951 to 1955 from overseas first class, and men were the 51.29% and women the 48.71%; in table 6 we can see the total number of passengers arrived from overseas in second and third class and men were the 50.80% and women the 49.20%. This means that families usually came together, they knew what they would find and they came here to stay.

**Table 8. Arrival and departure of Spaniards from 1956 to 1958.
By sea, plane and river.**

YEAR	BY SEA 1956 – 1958			
	ARRIVAL		DEPARTURE	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1956	5,126	5,375	2,137	1,863
1957	10,510	6,240		
1958	6,154	6,603	2,929	2,446

N.B.: The spaces referred to the departure of men and women in the year 1957 are left blank and not with the number 0 owing to the fact that no records were found about it but we do not believe that no departures were made, just that for some reason they were not recorded.

YEAR	BY PLANE 1956 – 1958			
	ARRIVAL		DEPARTURE	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1956	2,816	1,578	3,455	2,085
1957	3,210	1,658	3,436	1,678
1958	3,839	1,819	3,597	1,851

YEAR	BY RIVER 1956 – 1958			
	ARRIVAL		DEPARTURE	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1956	5,000	3,452	4,480	3,502
1957	5,501	4,141	5,235	3,682
1958	5,904	4,444	5,399	3,866

Source: Records from the National Direction of Migrations, Buenos Aires, National Museum of the Immigration.

In these three years there is not an important difference between the ones who came by sea and those who did it by plane. Besides there is a slow increase in the use of the plane as a means of transport.

**Table 9. Arrival of Spaniards from 1959 to 1976.
By all means.**

YEAR	1959 - 1976 BY ALL MEANS - ARRIVAL									
	PERM.	TEMPOR.	TOURISTS	RESID.	TRANSIT	O.S.	POLIT. ASYL.	LABORERS	TEMP.R.	TOTAL
1959	4,720	369	5,145	17,583	1,181	277	0	0	0	29,275
1960	2,378	1,207	6,142	19,499	1,220	372	0	0	0	30,818
1961	4,032	418	7,756	19,937	1,038	274	0	0	0	33,455
1962	4,559	702	5,628	24,240	1,191	362	0	1	0	36,683
1963	2,637	401	6,062	16,725	856	291	0	0	0	26,973
1964	1,355	513	6,109	20,811	1,254	836	1	1	0	30,379
1965	1,037	461	6,341	20,163	915	315	0	0	0	29,232
1966	960	176	9,150	18,937	124	330	0	0	0	29,677
1967	769	189	10,124	7,604	72	317	0	0	0	19,075
1968	806	173	10,071	16,189	94	336	0	0	19	27,688
1969	NO RECORDS FOUND									
1970	NO RECORDS FOUND									
1971	779	112	11,623	23,847	24	316	0	0	75	36,776
1972	424	97	12,867	18,477	20	292	0	0	43	32,220
1973	286	46	14,014	17,073	16	251	0	0	24	31,710
1974	270	116	15,657	22,953	33	267	0	0	27	39,323
1975	240	150	17,259	24,019	71	279	0	0	62	42,080
1976	254	104	25,915	12,613	63	317	0	0	56	39,322

Source: Records from the National Direction of Migrations, Buenos Aires, National Museum of the Immigration.

There were no records found for the years 1969 and 1970. This may be due to the socio-political problems that Argentina was having at that time. Two important popular manifestations took place, the "Rosariazo"¹¹ and the "Cordobazo"¹² and also the kidnapping and later murder of the General Aramburu, former president of the Nation. City.

Were we to analyze just the total number of arrivals we would find no important change. The real difference lies in the number of permanent arrivals and the number of tourists who entered the country. The permanent arrivals decreased drastically, having 4,720 in the year 1959 compared to 254 in 1976. In contrast, more Spanish tourists

¹¹ Rosariazo: demonstration held by workers and students who went to the streets of the city of Rosario to show their popular disagreement with the dictatorship of the president Onganía who had declared the military occupation of the city.

¹² Cordobazo: The news of the "Rosariazo" had a great impact on the people of Córdoba and to make matters worse, these people were very upset because of the decision taken by the provincial government to eliminate the "English Saturday". The strike was stopped by the army with a result of twenty deaths and hundreds of people arrested.

started to come to Argentina, rising from 5,145 in 1959 to 25,915 in 1976. Clearly this was caused by the reasons above expressed, the better conditions in Spain and the unstable ones existing in Argentina.

The arrival of the Republicans in Argentina

This needs a special paragraph because of several reasons. We are talking about the Spanish Republicans defeated in the civil war by Franco, and who turned into political exiles. The difference with the immigrants who had come to Argentina decades before with the aim of improving their economic situation or for personal or social reasons is that these people had to abandon their country against their own will for political, racial or religious persecutions.

The Spanish exile was Republican and anti-Franquist. We can even affirm that the thousands of men and women defeated in the war, and as a consequence of that started their exile, turned to be, by that same event, opponents to the Franquist regime.

As regards its regional composition, this exile has important differences with the massive immigration. The provinces of the north of Spain, mainly the Catalans, were the ones who comprised the highest part of the exiles. However, we have to remember that within this number of people, a high percentage were not Catalans, they were people from other provinces of Spain who had taken refuge in Catalonia during the Civil War. Those who arrived in the Eastern Pyreneans at the end of January 1939 were not only Catalans, but also Basques, Aragoneses, people from Extremadura, Andalusia and Murcia. But the most numerous groups that went to France were composed of Catalans and Aragoneses.

Those who came to America showed some variations as regards their regional origin. First in number were the Catalans, followed by the Cantabrian provinces and Madrid. On the contrary, the Aragoneses did not represent a significant presence in America.

The refugees who stayed in France were the ones who had a lower socio-professional level whereas those who came to America showed a higher one.

The exiled population in America was composed mostly by intellectuals and privileged sectors of the society. This is an important difference with the emigrants who had come at the beginning of the century. This really happened because the farmers and industrial workers did not count with the economic means to escape to so-distant places.

America was the place chosen by scientists and intellectuals since for them to work professionally in France and other European countries was very difficult while in the countries of Latin America, in particular Mexico, it was easier to find good working opportunities.

We can also find a high proportion of intellectuals, university professors, doctors, journalists, artists, former authorities of the Republican government and high political leaders among those who were exiled in Argentina.

All the regions of Spain were represented by these exiles, with a higher percentage of Basques, Catalans and people from the Castilian provinces, specially Madrid. The Cantabrian region represented the 26.3%, Catalonia, 18.1% and New Castile, 16.3% of the total number of refugees in Argentina.

It is very difficult to state precisely the number of Republican exiles that came to Argentina owing to the lack of official records and the nature of their arrival, but according to Schwarzstein ¹³ approximately 2,500 Spanish Republicans are estimated to have come to our country and this information could be available by registration forms of the refugees in the Spanish Representation in Argentina.

In table 10 we can observe the percentages of refugees by province and region and that the Levant region represents the 10.9% of the Spanish refugees.

Table 10
Provincial and regional origin of the refugees who emigrated to Argentina.

Province and region of origin	Argentina Per ciento
Barcelona	13,2
Gerona	2,7
Lérida-Tarragona	2,2
Catalonia	18,1
Álava-Guipúzcoa	11,5
Vizcaya	5,2
Santander	4,7
Oviedo	4,9
Cantabrian region	26,3
Other Castilian provinces	11,5
Madrid	4,8
New Castile	16,3
Valencia	3,5
Alicante-Castellón	3,3
Murcia	4,1
Levant	10,9
Zaragoza	4,9
Huesca-Teruel	3,2
Aragon	8,1
Other regions	10,1
TOTAL	100,0

¹³ (Ápud Dora SCHWARZTEIN, *Entre Franco y Perón. Memoria e identidad del exilio republicano español en Argentina*, Barcelona, Crítica Contrastes, 2001, pags. 83-84.)

Census of Valencians in Buenos Aires

We have already analysed the number of Spanish people who entered our country in the fifties and we have also explained that it was impossible to determine how many Valencians arrived because their place of origin was not specified. What we can state is the number of Valencians living today in Buenos Aires, thanks to the information provided by the General Consulate of Spain in Buenos Aires. Anyway this data can also be incomplete because not all the Spanish people living in Buenos Aires are registered in the Consulate. We do not have to forget that many entered as refugees and they never wanted to be taken a census or get any kind of document through the Consulate.

The General Consulate of Spain in Buenos Aires could provide the following information concerning the Valencian people living today in Buenos Aires:

People born in Alicante:	410
People born in Castellón:	70
People born in Valence:	929
Total:	1,409

Apart from this information, we have the number of people who were taken the census by the General Consulate of Spain in Buenos Aires, have got the Spanish citizenship but were not born in Spain. We are referring to the children and grandchildren of Spaniards who were born in Argentina but could acquire the Spanish citizenship. Unfortunately this data is also incomplete as children under age are not included. These Valencians not born in Spain but registered in the Consulate are as follows:

Alicante:	1,156
Castellon:	181
Valence:	2,227
Total:	3,564

The arrival of most of the Valencians in our country occurred before the Second World War. From 1950 the entrance was not constant. Most of the Valencians who arrived in Buenos Aires came from the province of Valence. Those who were from the province of Alicante would preferably choose the province of San Juan, in the northeast of Argentina, and very few people from Castellón chose Argentina as their destination.

1.5 VALENCIANS, BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUALITY

The Valencian people, not only those who live in the Valencian Community but also most of the ones who live in Buenos Aires, are in contact with two languages, Valencian and Spanish. What we should determine is if the Valencians who emigrated in 1950 are bilingual. In order to do that we must understand the concepts of bilinguality and bilingualism.

Bilinguality and bilingualism

We understand the psychological state of an individual who uses more than one language as well as the use of two or more codes in interpersonal and inter-group relations *languages in contact*. We distinguish between bilinguality and bilingualism. Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication; the degree of access will vary along a number of dimensions which are psychological, cognitive, psycholinguistic, social psychological, social, sociological, socio-linguistic, socio-cultural and linguistic. The concept of bilingualism, on the other hand, includes that of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism) but refers equally to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism).

The concept of bilingualism seems at first sight to be non-problematical. According to the Webster Dictionary (1961) bilingual is defined as 'having or using two languages especially as spoken with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker; a person using two languages especially habitually and with control like that of a native speaker' and bilingualism as 'the constant oral use of two languages'. In the popular view being bilingual equals being able to speak two languages perfectly. In contradistinction to this definition which includes only 'perfect bilinguals', Macnamara¹⁴ proposes that a

¹⁴ J. MACNAMARA, *The bilingual's linguistic performance*. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1967, pg.23

bilingual is anyone who possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, i.e. listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing in a language other than his mother tongue. Between these two extremes one encounters a whole array of definitions but the definition provided by Macnamara would consider the Valencians bilingual whereas the one by the Webster dictionary would not. Furthermore, not only would Macnamara consider the native Valencians bilingual but also their descendents as we will see in 1.7 of this investigation. The fact of the matter is that we would apply the concept of bilinguality and bilingualism to the Valencians living in the Valencian community but only the one of bilinguality and definitely not bilingualism to the Valencians living in Buenos Aires as they do not have the state of a linguistic community with two languages in contact.

The Valencians who arrived in our country in 1950 only had competence in two of the language skills: they could speak the language fluently and understand it perfectly, just the listening and speaking skills, but they did not know to write it or read it. This situation was due to the fact that at that time Spain was under Franco's regime and we have already mentioned that he promoted one language for one nation, and it was Spanish. The other languages were only used in a familiar context, but their learning at schools was absolutely forbidden, even their use in social public situations. When these people came to Argentina, they tried to continue using their vernacular language at home, with their relatives and Valencian friends and in the Valencian centres existing at that time (in the fifties "El Micalet" and later on "El Turia") but they never learned to write it or read it. Anyway, we consider that they were bilingual and they continue being it nowadays as they have preserved not only their traditions and customs but their language as well, even though they have stayed here for over fifty years.

We are talking about bilinguality when in fact more than two languages are involved in this discussion. On one hand we have Spanish or Castilian, as we will further on define; on the other we have Valencian, but together with Valencian we must make reference to the Catalan language. Why is Catalan included in this discussion? Because nowadays, and despite many opinions against it, Valencian and Catalan are considered the same language.

To start with, we will describe the Romance languages. Afterwards we will continue with Spanish and its correct name, and finally we will focus on the Valencian language, we will describe both positions to have a full understanding of the situation existing nowadays in the Valencian Community as far as the language is concerned.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Origin

During the Roman Empire, Latin contributed to the cohesion among all the different countries which were under the Roman power. Latin had a strong unity and was a vehicle of communication among people from different places.

In the 5th century, the decline of the Roman Empire started. So, the relations among such different countries broke down. Then, diversity tendencies inside the Empire increased and popular Latin (spoken Latin) lost the unity that it had had before. This would be the origin of the future Romance languages. This process was slow (it took some centuries) and gradual.

Diagram of evolution:

Popular Latin (spoken)

Pre-Romance (5th, 6th... centuries)

Romance languages (9th, 10th centuries).

Since the Romance languages have been consolidated, they have influenced themselves all over the years.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES MAP



Classification of the Romance languages

Romance languages can be divided into two big groups, because of their specific linguistic tendencies: East and West groups.

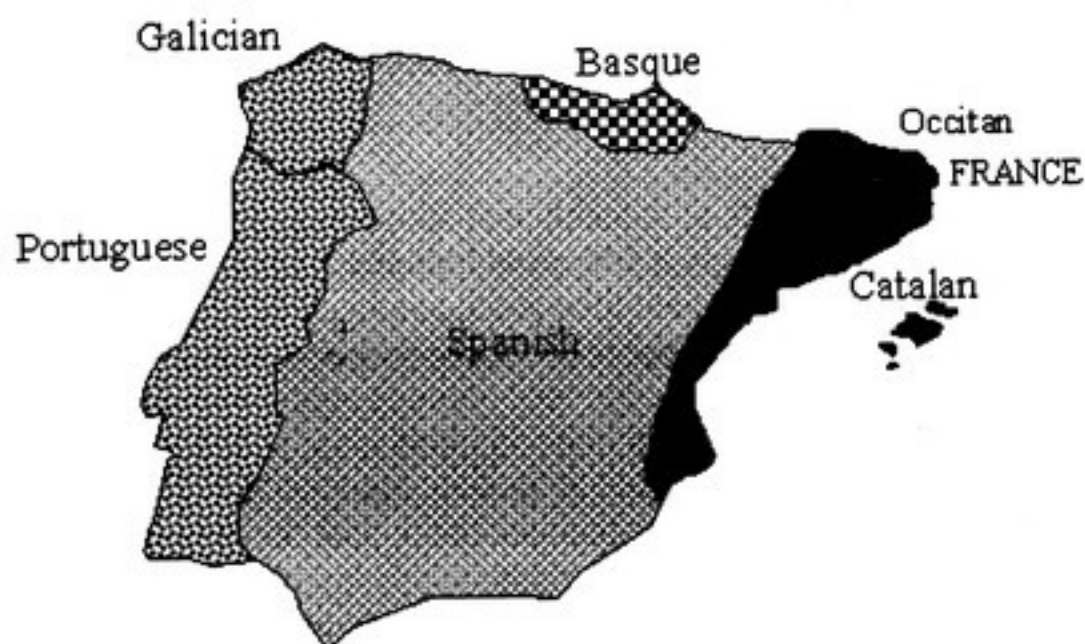
East group: Italian, Rumanian.

West group: Galician-Portuguese, Spanish (Castilian), Catalan, Occitan, French, Sardinian and Rhaetian. The languages mentioned above are the ones that exist nowadays. Others came from the evolution of the Latin language but for different reasons they couldn't continue growing and finally disappeared.

Languages in Spain

Nowadays five languages are spoken in Spain: Galician- Portuguese, Spanish (Castilian), Basque, Catalan and Occitan (aranès).

LANGUAGES IN SPAIN MAP



Spanish (Castilian):

It is the official language in all over the country.

Galician:

It is the own language of Galicia and the West fringe of Asturias and Leon. Although it has some specific characteristics which make it different from Portuguese – specially in a phonetic level- it is considered as part of the same linguistic unity. During the Middle Ages, the Galician-Portuguese literature was very important, and some Castilian poets used it.

Basque (Euskarian):

It is the single Pre-Roman language in the country. It is spoken in the North of Spain, in the Basque Country. Its origin is unknown.

Aranès:

It is spoken in Val d'Aran, in the Pyrenees. It is a dialect of the Occitan language, a very important language in the Middle Ages, specially because of its literature.

Catalan:

Although Spanish is an official language all over the country, these other languages coexist with it in the places where they are spoken and they are also official languages in these places, except Occitan.

Spanish-Castilian

We have already mentioned that Spanish is the official language of the country. Before the reign of the Catholic Queen and King, Elizabeth and Ferdinand, Spain was divided into different kingdoms, each with their own language. With the unification of the country, it was decided to adopt one language as the official one, and Castilian was chosen because of the importance of the region.

Therefore, Spanish is the name given to the Castilian language because Castilian was not representing the language spoken in Spain, as French was for France or Italian for Italy. As a matter of fact, Castilian and Spanish are different names for the same language.

Castilian was the name of the linguistic community that spoke this Roman modality in medieval times: Castile.

There is a discussion about the name given to the language. The term 'Spanish' is relatively new and is not accepted by many bilingual speakers of the Spanish state because they understand that 'Spanish' includes 'Galician, Catalan, Valencian and Basque', languages that are officially accepted within their communities. These bilingual speakers suggest returning to the old denomination of 'Castilian language'.

On the other hand, if the Spanish people called their language 'Castilian', the Argentinean people would have the same right to call it Argentine, and the Mexican people to call it Mexican, and that would lead to the fragmentation of a language that thanks to its number of speakers has the third place in the languages of the world.

The Latin American countries have taken the words 'Castilian' and 'Spanish' as synonyms. After the foundation of the Spanish Royal Academy, its members agreed to use the term 'Spanish language'.

Valencian. The two positions

The concept of Valencian as an autonomous language or as a dialect of Catalan is immersed in political connotations which are very difficult to leave aside. Depending on where we decide to focus our attention, we are going to be influenced by Spanish, Valencian or Catalan nationalist ideas.

The official language as it is taught in the university classrooms considers Valencian as a dialectal variety of Catalan, having at the same time different sub-dialects. This also implies a political intention leading to include the territory and history of the Kingdom of Valencia (today Valencian Community) in a political project called Catalan Countries or Great Catalonia focused on the independence from the Spanish and French states together with Catalonia, Balearic and the Roussillon or French Catalonia. The Catalan Normative entity, with active participation of Valencian philologists is the Institute for Catalan Studies (Institut d'Estudis Catalans) in Barcelona and in Valencia is the Interuniversity Institute of Philology. The name given by the supporters of the Catalan unity to the territory is Valencian Country.

In complete opposition to this, there is a resistance movement that reinforces the existence of a language with its own entity sufficiently differentiated from the other neighbouring Roman languages. They highlight the differences and ignore the similarities with the Catalan language. This position is represented and led by the Royal Academy of Valencian Culture in Valencia (RACV), which has even promulgated some orthographic rules different from the Catalan language.

The two most important political parties in Spain PP (Popular Party) and PSOE (Spanish Socialist Working Class Party) have tried to reach an eclectic position, therefore in practice they follow the unity theory, based on scientific grounds, and legally keep the denomination of *Valencian language*. That means that they call their language with two names, Valencian or Catalan, but they consider it the same language. This is the position of the recently founded Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL), institution with normative power granted by law.

The Catalan language

Catalan is a Romance language of the West branch. It has common aspects with the Iberian-Romance languages – such as its morphology – and the Gaule-Romance languages – such as its phonetics and some vocabulary. It is quite similar to the Occitan language.

Linguistic domain:

Catalan is the own language in a large territory whose main part is in Spain, but also in Andorra, France and Italy (Sardinia island).

Specifically, this is its domain:

(In Spain):

Catalonia 5.980.000 inhabitants

Valencian Country 3,350,000 in.

Balearic islands 755,000 in.

East part of Aragon 48,000 in.

El Carxe (in Murcia) 2,000 in.

(Andorra):

Andorra 38.000 in.

(In France):

North Catalonia (in the South of France) 330,000 in.

(In Italy):

L'Alguer (in Sardinia island) 37,000 in.

All these figures are just approximate, but the total population of Catalan speakers is about 10,540,000 people.

MAP OF THE CATALAN LINGUISTIC DOMAIN

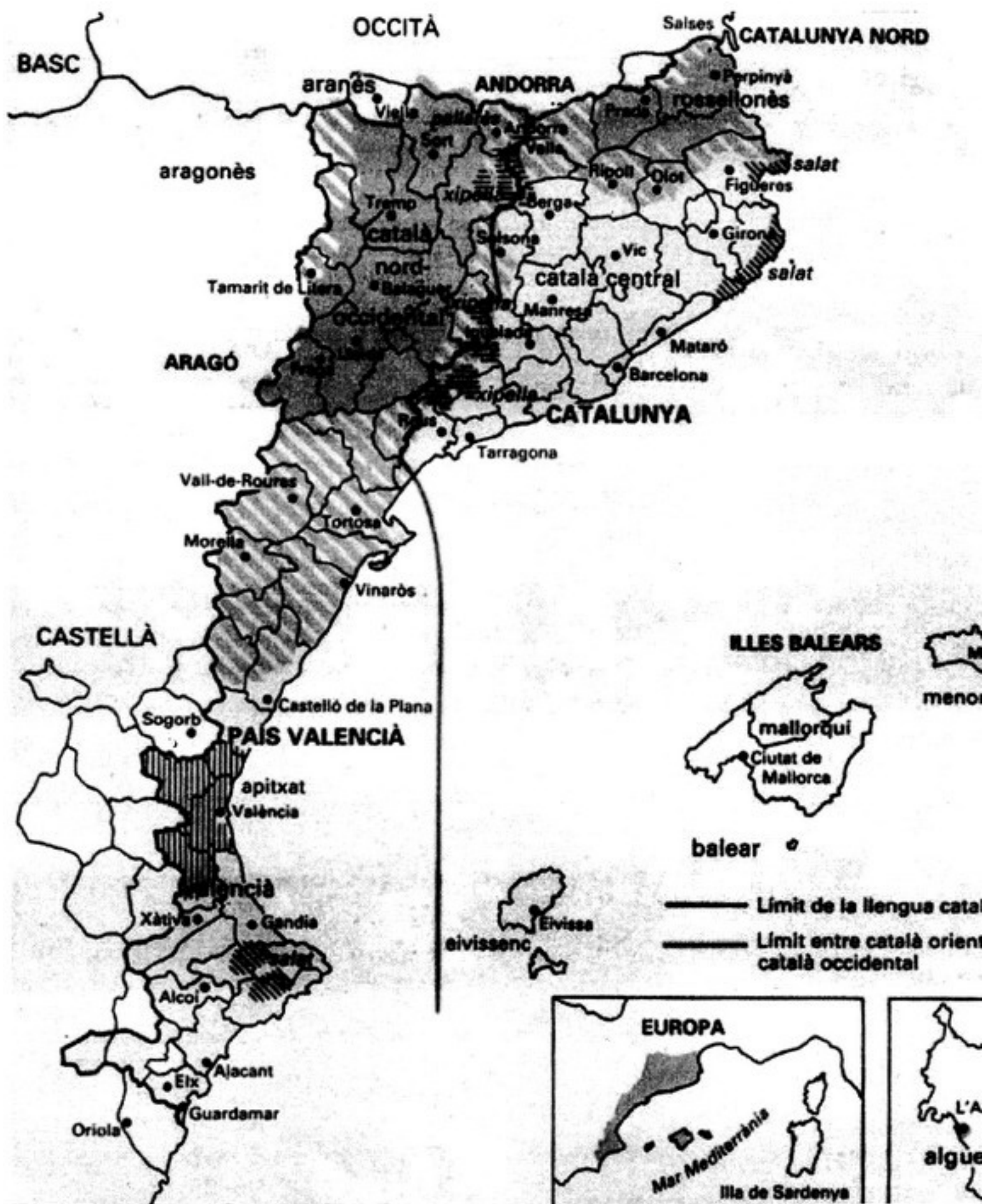


From the linguistic point of view, these countries border on: Spanish – in the West and South- , Occitan –in the North and North-East- and Italian –in the East-. But the main influence is from: Spanish, French and Italian, official languages in the countries where Catalan is spoken.

Catalan is found in the 21st place (out of 56) in number of speaking people if we compare it with other European languages, such as Danish, Norwegian, Eslovac, Eslovenian, Basque, and so on.

As an example, its territory is bigger than Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland.

Map of the Catalan dialects



Valencian. The official position.

Valencian is similar to the Catalan spoken in West Catalonia and Andorra and is nearly indistinguishable from the Catalan spoken in Southwest Catalonia. Linguists tend to regard Valencian simply as a variant or dialect of the Catalan language or even as merely a different name for the same reality.

There is no mention of Valencian or Catalan or any language other than Spanish in the Spanish Constitution of 1978. The Estatut d'Autonomia (Autonomy Statute) refers to the vernacular language as *Valencian*, a name used traditionally since the 15th century, but makes no point about whether it is a different language from Catalan or not. In fact, this issue has been explicitly established by the new official Valencian Academy of the Language "*Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua*" (AVL)

Features of Valencian

- A system of 7 stressed vowels /a,E,e,i,O,o,u/, reduced to 5 in unstressed position (/E,e/ > [e], /O,o/ > [o]) (feature shared with Nord-occidental Catalan and Ribagorçan)
- In general, there is a use of modern forms of the determinate article (*el,els*) and the 3rd person unstressed object pronouns (*el,els*). For the other unstressed object pronouns, etymological old forms (*me,te,se,ne,mos,vos...*) can be found, depending on places, in conjunction with the more modern (or *reforced*) ones (*em,et,es,en*)
- Valencian has preserved medieval prepalatal affricates [Dz],[Ts] in contexts where other modern dialects have developed fricatives [Z] or [Jz] (feature shared with modern Ribagorçan)
- Valencian preserves the final occlusive in the groups [mp,nt,Nk,lt] (feature shared with modern Balearic)
- Valencian is the only modern Catalan variant that articulates etymological final [r] in all contexts
- Valencian preserves the medieval system of demonstratives with three different deixis (*este/açò/ací, eixe/això/aquí, aquell/allò/allí*) (feature shared with modern Ribagorçan)
- Valencian has -i- as thematic vowel for inchoative verbs of the 3rd conjugation *este servix* (*this one serves*) (like Nord-occidental Catalan)
- An exclusive feature of Valencian is the subjunctive imperfect morph /ra/: *que ell vinguera* (*that he come*)

Sub- dialects of Valencian

-Septentrional: spoken in most of the province of Castellon de la Plana, and the area of Matarraña in the province of Teruel. Septentrional Valencian is very similar to the Catalan of the Tortosa area, in the province of Tarragona. ..

-Central or *apitxat*, spoken in Valencia city and its area. Apitxat has two distinct features: All voiced sibilants get unvoiced (that is, apitxat pronounces ['tSove] ['kasa] (*young man, house*), where other Valencians would pronounce ['dZove], ['kaza]) (feature shared with and Ribagorçan)

-It preserves the strong simple perfect, which has been substituted by a analytic perfect with VADERE + infinitive in the rest of modern Catalan variants (simple perfect is still preserved incomplete in Ibiza).

-Meridional: spoken in most of the province of Alicante, and the area of Carxe in the province of Murcia.

The Valencian Academy of the Language's decision concerning the unity of the language

Several opinions were given about the unity of the language and its name, whether we should call it Valencian or just Catalan. Valencian and Catalan philologist expressed their views which sometimes were completely different and it seemed that it would be improbable to reach an agreement. Lastly the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL), the official institution with normative power granted by law, came to a decision which was made public on 9th February 2005. In a plenary meeting they came to the decision about the principles and criteria for the defence of the Valencian title and entity. We will just mention the main points in order to summon up the grounds given for such a decision which has aroused different and controversial opinions.

Preamble

First of all, it is clearly stated that the name given to the language of the Valencian people is "Valencian". That name is traditional, historic, legal and therefore the most suitable in the institutional context. The love of the Valencian people for their own language, considered as their main symbol of identity, has been shown all along history.

Secondly, it is accepted that part of the Valencian society considers that the language of the Valencians coincides with the language spoken in other territories of the

ancient Aragon Kingdom, whereas another group considers that it is a different language. This discussion has often been linked with the question of the national identity of the Valencians. In view of that, some social groups have been affected by the theory which determines that to identify the language of the Valencians with the one of other people (in particular Catalonia) would lead to the loss of the identity of the Valencian people and to a hypothetical submission.

The Autonomy Statute of the Valencian community (Law 5/1982, 1st July) established the title of Valencian for the language of those people, without determining the philological entity of that language and without specifying the normative institution of the language. That decision contributed to more confusion and to different interpretations, as for some people the fact that the Statute makes reference to the "Valencian" language means that this language is not the same as the one spoken somewhere else. On the other hand, others understand that the Statute recognises a secular title to refer, within the Valencian community, to the language that the Valencians share with other people of the ancient Aragon Kingdom. For others it is absolutely possible to recognise the unity of the language and defend the genuine features of the Valencian.

The Law of the Creation of the AVL (16th September 7/1998) admits that the title "Valencian" is the most adequate to refer to the language of the Valencians, and at the same time claims that this language "is part of a linguistic system that the autonomy statutes of the Spanish territories of the ancient Aragon Kingdom recognises as their own language.

Decision

- 1- According to the Romanistic contributions accumulated since the XIX c. Until now (studies of historical grammar, dialectology, syntax, lexicography...), the historic language of the Valencians, from the philological point of view, is also the one shared by the autonomous communities of Catalonia and the Balearic Isles and Andorra Principedom. The different ways of speaking of all these territories make up one language, that is to say, the same "linguistic system". Among all these ways of speaking, Valencian has the same hierarchy and dignity as any other territorial modality of the linguistic system, and it has some individual features that the AVL will preserve and strengthen according to its proper lexicographic and literary tradition, the Valencian linguistic reality and the rules consolidated with the Castelló Norms.
- 2- The fact that a language is spoken in different political or administrative situations is not an exclusive characteristic of the Valencian, on the contrary, it

is a very common situation with the languages of the world (such as the Portuguese spoken in Portugal and in Brazil; the English of England, USA, Ireland, Australia, and so on).

- 3- The language is a means of communication and culture. To share a language also means to share the cultural legacy that such language transmits. But this does not imply that the Valencians do not have our own identity and our own cultural characteristics, and that we preserve them as clearly different from the ones of the other people that use our language.
- 4- In spite of having a particular Valencian tradition as regards the own language, the knowledge of having a language shared with other territories of the ancient Aragon Kingdom has been constant. Therefore, the historic title "Valencian" has existed together with "Catalan", documented in certain Valencian sources, and generalized in the Romanistique context and in the Valencian university of the last decades.
- 5- The AVL considers that the most appropriate term for the language is "Valencian".
- 6- It is a fact that in Spain there are two legal titles to refer to this language: "Valencian" established in the Autonomy Statute of the Valencian Community and "Catalan", admitted in the Autonomy Statutes of Catalonia, Balearic Isles, and supported by the Spanish Law and jurisprudence.
- 7- The different modalities will be respected within the language as it respects diversity within the unity.
- 8- The codification is done according to a model which includes the own features of the Valencian speaking and that makes possible to have Valencian versions.
- 9- With no aim of contradicting the previous item, in official and institutional uses of the language, a convergent model of the language should be used, based on integral and classical ways.

Several documents and testimonies have been enclosed to support this decision. There are nine parts with annexing documents.

First part: Selection of testimonies where it is documented the identification of the concept *language* with the one of *linguistic system*.

Second part: Selection of testimonies where it is documented the use of the title *Valencian* or *Valencian language*.

Third part: Selection of testimonies where it is documented the consciousness of the Valencian linguistic and onomastic peculiarities.

Fourth part: Selection of Valencian testimonies where it is documented the consciousness of sharing the same language with the Catalans and the Balearics.

Fifth part: Selection of Valencian texts where it is documented the use of the title *Catalan* or *Catalan language* to refer to the language of the Valencians.

Sixth part: Selection of Valencian testimonies where it is documented the use of compound names to refer to the language of the Valencians.

Seventh part: Selection of testimonies where it is documented the use of names different from *Valencian* and *Catalan* to refer to the language of the Valencians.

Eighth part: Some legal rules of the Spanish State which approve the own language of the Valencians and the Catalan.

Ninth part: Some judicial sentences which support the title *Catalan* or *Catalan language* to either name the language of the Valencians or consider it a synonym of the *Valencian* or *Valencian language*.

By and large, the general considerations and the linguistic reasons for considering Valencian the same language as Catalan have been stated. The Valencian Academy of the Language considered that it was very important to make their decision known to the public to avoid confusion or misunderstandings as regards the official position. Naturally, this decision has not been favourably accepted by all the Valencian people. As it could be expected, the organizations against the unity of the language made public their disagreement and opposition to this decision with documents and demonstrations in the street. But we will deal with this situation deeply in the point below.

Juridical Considerations About The Valencian Language

The proper language of the Valencians is the Valencian language. It has been like this along the centuries, in that way it was named by the classical writers in the 15th century, in that way it is claimed by the feeling of the Valencian people, and in that way it is in the Autonomous Statute of the Valencian Community:

"Article 7.1. The two official languages of the Autonomic Community are Valencian and Spanish. Everybody has the right to know them and use them".

Valencian has been the proper historical language of the Valencian people along many centuries, and has shown their most characteristic and peculiar signs of identity.

The Valencian language has been the "official" language of the Kingdom of Valencia practically since its foundation, when the Furs (own jurisdiction) were ordered that the rules had to be written in "common Romance" to be understood by the people. And the same happened with the ancient written documents that they keep in all the Kingdom: laws, civil administration, ecclesiastical administration, private documents, letters, poems, novels... all were written in Valencian. The only language with which Valencian had to compete was Latin, which was used for science, the university teaching, and the high prelates of the church. After two centuries, the Spanish language began to be present as a neighbouring prestigious language, and part of the nobles, and the intellectual environment of the 16th-17th centuries adopted it as a way of expression. But in spite of this, Valencian continued being the current language for most of the population, and that was expressed mostly in all the ordinary activities. It was after the Succession War (in the Kingdom, from 1705 to 1707) when things changed radically. Spanish became the administrative language, and from the administration great pressure was made to leave aside little by little the Valencian language (in the ecclesiastic administration, at schools, and finally all the society) but at least respecting their written use. This process of linguistic substitution was slightly stopped by the partial rediscovering of Valencian as a literary language by the high classes during the Renaixença (19th century) and the shy political intentions of demanding the acceptance of Valencian as the official language together with Spanish at the beginning of the 20th century and during the II Republic (1931-6). But this pressure was higher during the years of Franco's government, when the use of vernacular languages was considered an attempt against the unity of the country, which had Spanish as the only language. The popular thought, favoured by the great immigration of the 60s and 70s, was that "if you're Spaniard speak Spanish", or even "speak to me in a Christian language". This way of thinking was deeply immersed in students at school during those years,

and due to that, even now sometimes the normal use of the Valencian language is a bit difficult.

Fortunately the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution in 1978 changed completely the Spanish legal regulation, and although it has not corrected completely all the historical offences that suffered the "other" languages of the-state, it has developed a juridical background that has permitted "other" languages, among them the Valencian, to be co-official in its correspondent territory. From the general constitutional dispositions, each autonomy has expressed on its Statute and in its laws, the wishes of the society to put into practice the use of their own language, that in this case it was stated in the "Law of use and teaching of the Valencian" (1983). So we have three fundamental laws that regulate the linguistic matters in Valencia. We can remark the following articles:

a) Spanish Constitution (1978)

Article 3

1. Spanish is the official language of the state. All the Spanish people have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages will also be official in each autonomy according to their Statutes.
3. The richness of the different Spanish linguistic modalities is a cultural heritage that will be subject to special respect and protection.

b) Autonomic Statute of the Valencian Community (1982)

Article 7

- 1- The Valencian Government [Generalitat Valenciana] will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, and will take the necessary steps to assure its knowledge.
- 2 – Nobody will be discriminated because of their language.
- 3 – Valencian language recuperation will be especially protected and respected.
- 4 – The law will establish the criteria to apply the own language in the Administration and Education.
- 5 – The law will delimit the territories in which one of these languages predominates, and so the areas where the teaching of the proper language of the Community may be excepted.

On the other hand, the article 31.4 gives to the Valencian Community the exclusive competence in the matter of culture, and the 35 the whole competence in the matter of education.

..

c) Law of Use and Teaching of the Valencian (1983)

Article 2

Valencian is the proper language of the Valencian Community and, in consequence all the citizens have the right to know it, and use it orally and in written, in private and in public instances.

Article 4

No one can, by any means, be discriminated because of the use of any of the official languages.

Anyway, these articles are also mentioned by the official position as they promote the name *Valencian* for the language, although they also accept *Catalan*. The substantial difference is that for the opposition *Valencian* is the only name we can give to the language as they do not accept any linguistic unity, there is only one name for one language and that is *Valencian*. It is neither the same as Catalan nor a dialect of Catalan.

Imprecision of the concept of dialect. The Catalan and the Valencian case.

First of all, it is necessary to establish the uncertain and contradictory nature of the concept of dialect, what has been openly admitted by well-known specialists, while others avoid the methodological discussion. For the supporters of the non-unity of the language, the imprecision of the term dialect to refer to Valencian is one of the grounds to justify their position and we will see how they use this to support their ideas.

The most constant characteristic when it comes to define the concept of dialect is its genetic dependence on its mother tongue. Therefore, the dialect is just a split from the linguistic community to which it belonged and with which it keeps a relation of dependence (this is how The Royal Academy defines it). Although there does not exist any adequate analysis of this relation in the case of the Valencian language, it seems to be implicit in the thesis that it is Catalan because it was brought by the colonists after the conquest by James I. But this matter is also questionable; nearly half a century ago it was observed that the French dialects are not parts of a common basis, but they are

already established linguistic systems which have been absorbed by a stronger one, the language spoken in the Isle of France. Nowadays this thesis is accepted by the French dialectologists. It also seems to be valid in the case of the Italian and the Tuscan. And there can also be found cases like this in Spain because, together with dialects originated by division, as it is the case of the dialects spoken in Extremadura and Murcia, others, such as the languages spoken in Aragon and Leon, are considered dialects of the Spanish, though actually they are parallel systems which have been absorbed by the stronger power of expansion of the Spanish language.

The theoretical aspect of the concept of dialect is not important now, so let us put it aside. The intention was just to point out that the term is quite less precise of what supporters of certain thesis suggest. But further, what really matters now is to show the contradiction implied by the thesis that states that the Catalan is a language constituted by two dialects, which precede others at the same time. Because the so-called "Eastern Catalan" and "Western Catalan" have never been genetically related, but they have developed independently from each other and in a parallel way from an original Low Latin with possible distinctive features at very early stages of their evolution. There has not been historical dependence on each other, either. That is, the thesis lacks the two basic conditions that define the concept of dialect.

Then, we find the paradoxical situation that the dialects (supposed dialects) of the Catalan language, far from responding to a principle of coherence, seem an unpredictable block difficult to define from the strictly linguistic point of view, though easily understandable in the light of linguistic politics.

The Catalanist thesis support, in an axiomatic way, the concept of the Catalan as a language constituted by two basic dialects, from which derive, by parthenogenesis, the other dialects that belong to their "linguistic domain". And thus, this idea is expressed by means of a metaphor: the Catalan is, from its origin, a "bicephalic" language.

It is worth paying a little attention to the coined concept. "Bicephalic" is an unreal concept not related to the natural processes and therefore bound to disappear in a short time; or it is fantastically unreal, product of mythical or dream processes. Which of these meanings fits the Catalan linguists intentions? As it often happens, this metaphor is a failure because of the incorrect perception or modification of the reality.

And in this case the language is one linguistic system. One. Not two, because then there will be two languages. The axiom holds not just a logical but also an ontological contradiction.

If neither of the two Catalan systems is a dialect of each other, and if neither of them is a dialect of a system that contains them, then, what is understood by "dialect"? Because the dialect is always dependent on a language. By definition. The fact is that they are not dialects; they are contiguous diasystems. Another question is that these terms, agreeing with its scientific coldness, tend to separate what, due to "external Linguistics" reasons is necessary to unify. That is why the vague concept of dialect, which suggests integration into a whole system, is obviously more appropriate.

There do not exist languages resulting from the union of dialects. None. There are languages which generate them, and others absorb them; others carry out both functions through their historical process. But when, for explicit historical reasons, some linguistic diasystems originate a suprasystem, no process of absorption having taken place yet and, therefore, keeping their respective individualities, then, such suprasystem will be termed coin in linguistic terms.

The systems of communication by the Indians of the North American prairies were useful because they have adopted a middle position; this is still the case in wide areas of Africa. Well then, what is called "Catalan" is a coin that unifies two linguistic systems, and that is the reason for the artificiality of some of its subsystems, being a good example of it the orthographic system.

This character of the Catalan is acceptable as long as it is related to socio political and cultural reasons of Catalonia. But as the "scientific" basis of the dialecticism of the Valencian language, it is absolutely inconsistent.

Because the unreasonable underlying assumption is that the Valencian is a dialect of the Eastern Catalan, the one which is trying to be standardized, because it is a dialect of the Western Catalan, or "lleidat" which is not a dialect of the former. That is, it is a sort of dialect with a (false) intermediary. And that thesis, which is not explicit, is categorically supported by those who claim to do it on a scientific basis. However, its acceptance should be made dogmatically since it holds an internal contradiction which invalidates it rather than being a hypothesis defensible in an objective way.

What really matters now is to bear in mind that the assumption of the dialecticism of the Valencian is senseless and holds no solid arguments, and -We will be clear in order to be understood- it is not a scientific concept, but a dogmatic one; because it is not methodologically grounded; because it is not based on reason, just on authority.

On the other hand, the large number of aspects that have been taken into consideration in order to define the concept of dialect and their entangled interrelations is openly expressed in the recent 'Introducció la dialectologia catalana', where all kind of arguments, exclusive among them, are pondered, and it is concluded: "Per tal de definir els dialects, els criteris son varis i cap d'ells definitiu". And the following

surprising assertion is also found in the same study: "Objectively, then, there does not exist a difference in nature between language and dialect".

And we say it is surprising because the acceptance of that idea means the rejection of the basic thesis of the study. Because, if there is no objective-difference, what are the grounds of a criterion which is said to be scientific? We will give the answer: there are not.

That is why, we will insist on this point, it is imperative to approach the issue by exclusion: dialect will be that linguistic system which does not satisfy the objective conditions to be a language.

Why Valencian is considered a language and not a dialect.

In this part we will see the reasons given by the supporters of the non-unity of the language to show that Valencian is an independent language.

The concept of language has been better defined than the vague and complicated concept of dialect. If many of its formulations are reduced to common denominator, the result will be a well – differentiated linguistic system which has the capability to express the individual and collective experiences. In linguistic terms, these defining features are cohesion, differentiation and literature.

- a) The linguistic cohesion, or levelling, is the first condition of individualization of a language. It refers to the closeness of the subsystems (phonological, lexical, etc.) of the language in all their scope, what is certainly a characteristic of the Valencian language. For instance, the differences appreciated between a speaker from the Vall de Uxed another from Algemes de Alcoy are just local, something common to all the languages, but not so relevant as to consider them different ways of speaking. I admit that this is an approximate opinion, but it happens that there is no objective way to measure the linguistic levelling. Luckily, it is not necessary for our purpose here. Let us think that within the Valencian language there are not differences so remarkable as those existing in the Spanish spoken in different places such as Burgos and Malaga, for instance. Or, making reference to a closer case, differences between the two sections of the Catalan.

- b) Together with the cohesion, there is the differentiation or delimitation of the systems taken as reference. This differentiation is clear and strong in the case of the Valencian since it affects all the subsystems of the language. Let us go through the different categories.

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1-Lexicon

As we do not have the essential monograph, the lexical difference will have to be assumed in an axiomatic way. We will make a pair of remarks rather than mention a number of examples, already known by everybody.

Firstly, no many lexical differences are necessary to give the impression of linguistic division. A few frequently used terms that will take the place of the word itself will be sufficient, with the consequent effect of dissociation and inappropriateness (*servei* instead of *servici*, *altre* for *atre*...)

The second remark is that the conflict at the level of the common people, to a large extent, has its grounds on the lexical differences. The Valencian speakers feel strange some words which can sometimes be certified as belonging to the classic Valencian, and they reject them. Well then, two different aspects of the word intersect here: the etymological or archaic aspect, on the one side, and the lexico-semantic one, on the other. Through the existence of a language, and this is common to all the languages, there is a constant process of lexical selection in accordance with the changing expressive needs, or the collective choice. In all the selective processes some words become obsolete at the same time that others are imported or coined. The obsolete words give evidence of a previous stage of the language, as well as fossils certify the existence of life in extinct geological periods, although they stopped being living entities, integrated into an ecosystem, millions of years ago. Well then, the necropolis are invaluable means of getting to know about the past, and what a scientist will never do is to get the old expressions back. The archaisms of the Valencian language are not Valencian: they were. A triceratops is not an animal; a skeleton from the Han period is not a functionary who has three children, with his distress and happiness. Because he is dead, like the archaism. That is why this is not part of the living and active lexicon which is involved in the expressive processes that constitute the language. And nobody is interested in bringing fossils into life; nobody is going to use the archaisms in the existence of a language in a spontaneous way. It is unthinkable that the Valencians, must speak the way it was done back in the 14th century when no other people in the world do it. No, things must be clear: the reason for using these extinct words and expressions is not that they are classical Valencian, but because they are current vulgar Catalan. Otherwise, why are the archaisms that are no longer used in its mother tongue not actualised? And however, such a deceit is the main argument that is being used in

order to cause confusion.

It has to be understood that if the term is in use, its presence in the glossary or in the text validates and certifies its origin, but if, in accordance with the natural evolution of the language, it has fallen in disuse, both of them will classify it as an archaism, but they will never justify, by themselves, its incorporation to the living lexicon.

Sometimes it has been remarked the great importance that, on different grounds, have those words which lack a meaning on their own, such as linking words and determiners (prepositions, conjunctions, determiners, etc.) since the synonymy does not occur among them so easily as it does among nouns, adjectives and verbs. They remain unchanged in the different dialects of a language because of their nature and, therefore, when they change, they are more significant as relevant features of linguistic differentiation.

Here are some examples, which are by no means exhaustive: in Valencian the article lo, is both masculine (together with el) and neuter (the only form used for this gender) whereas in standard Catalan it is replaced, in both cases, by el (*el que hi ha que fer*); determiners, *esta-aquesta*; possessives, *meua-meva*; personal pronouns, *nosaltros-nosaltres*; numerals, *disset, dos-dues*; prepositions *a-en* (place); *baix-de-sota* (archaic in Valencian); conjunctions, *puix-doncs*; adverbs, *aci, dins, quasi, aleshores-aquí, dintre, gaire llavors*. And these examples are sufficient for our aim. Because, the person who thinks that these are a few isolated and hardly conclusive examples, should try to find an approximate number of differences of this kind between the Spanish and any of its dialects, or between any other language and its dialects. And, with a minimum intellectual honesty, he will have to admit the high differentiating value of the examples listed above, together with many others easy to find.

It is also essential to attach importance to the large number of lexical differences that can be found among nouns, verbs and adjectives, whose high proportion makes it difficult to consider it a phenomenon of synonymy as it frequently happens. If that were the case, the Catalan, or the Valencian, would be by far the languages containing the larger quantity of synonyms. Because the differences are more numerous than it seems. However, this is not decisive, but it is the fact that the mentioned terms are not synonyms. The cultivated speaker (in the linguistic sense) recognizes the synonyms of his language easily. When the high number of the supposedly equivalent words is ignored by a significant quantity of speakers and, besides, it is just characteristic of restricted linguistic areas, and not others, then, one cannot speak of a case of synonymy. Not really. These terms are just but an overwhelming flow of lexical distinctive features. And it is impossible to deny this on objective methodological grounds or, why not to say it? On objective scientific grounds.

2. Phonology

We are in the dominion of the axiomatic. It is not required an especially good ear to perceive the differences of articulation and intonation which define the two languages. Here are some of them: the Catalan neutral e does not exist in Valencian, or it is heard in local speech at the most. It is equally significant the devoicing of the bilabial before the alveolar lateral (it is said pople instead of poble, and probapla for probable). In Catalan the alveolar frictionless continuant is not pronounced in the final position (por and an or anar); and what in a language tends to be pronounced as fricative, in the other it is a clear affricate articulation: In a language the speaker will say pans with the voiceless palatal fricative, s), while in the other it will be pronounced penjar (with the voiced affricate j) o penchar (with the voiceless affricate of the apichat, ch).

But above all, the chaotic Catalan vocalic system has to be contrasted to the well defined Valencian one. The former allows to write, for instance, "la temporada de Pepito l'equatoril Canig" and pronounce la tampurada de Papitu l'aquaturil Canig

The five mentioned differences, and many more that are included in the essays on Valencian phonetics, have, in phonological terms, a great differentiating value. And in any case, instead of technical or uninteresting details (although the exhaustive study would be essential from other perspective), we would rather point out the importance of the phonological contrasts, because they define the individuality of a language to a larger extent than the lexical or morpho-syntactic differences do, because they belong to more automatic and less conscious levels of speech, where choice hardly takes place. A language will be able to accept a lexical borrowing or a barbarism, or even a syntactic structure, but what a language strongly refuses to incorporate are the phonemes and articulatory ways which seem strange.

3. Orthography

Every orthographic system is the result of a balance between the graphic tradition and the phonological reality. In Valencian the verb haber is spelt with h and v. The etymological mute graph has been preserved, while the voiced bilabial occlusive became a labiodental fricative, that is, b became v. This word is, then, an example of how the two tendencies that define the orthographical system occur in an absolutely natural way once they have been accepted by convention. However, it has to be kept in mind that the writing must be in accordance with the phoneme, with the sounds it represents, because an excessive dependence on the tradition may lead to an imprecise and awkward writing, as in the extreme case of the Chinese, which has sixteen graphs for the phoneme shi. Less serious cases of orthographic duplication are found in all the cultivated languages, close to us is the case of the Spanish and the Valencian languages.

Nothing would happen if these languages would go through a process of orthographic simplification, except for the necessary effort that the old generations should make to adapt to it. To write *historia* with h is just a habit, the Italians have eliminated it and their orthography is as correct as the Spanish one, but more coherent. But this does not make it more or less "scientific".

In Valencian the sound of the alveolar fricative /s/ can be represented by five different graphies: c (*principi*), felices (*sense*), ss (*passar*) and z (*Alzira*). The same as for the Chinese, tradition has a strong importance. There is no problem in deciding to eliminate three of these graphs, since two of them would be sufficient to differentiate the voiced phoneme from the voiceless one.

A very different thing is when an orthographic change entails a phonological one. Here we will never be able to be accurate enough. Because in this case the last redoubt of the identity of the language is involved, it is the most spontaneous and, therefore, the most firmly rooted in the habit of its speakers. We must not write *Elx* in the place of *Elig* because the word will go through a modification of the last phoneme, which will become fricative instead of affricate, that is, Catalan articulation instead of the Valencian one (remember that, on the other hand, the graphy '*ig*' also exists for the affricate phoneme in Catalan, in '*torneig*', and many other words). The same applies to the apparently insignificant detail of the grave accent on the 'e' of Valencia, which remains open in the Catalan way, instead of ours, which is close. And in the case of the first person pronoun, '*jo*', the grapheme does not correspond to the phoneme it represents at all.

When the phonology is involved, it is always strongly affected. The orthographic aspect is not important by itself, but it is when the articulation of the words is altered. Therefore, it is not just a matter of whether the Valencians will accept one or other orthographic system. And that is why the most strict linguistic logic, or rather, scientific, should establish that two languages of different phonological systems must determine separately their orthographic uses. Because the orthography of a language must evolve, but in relation to its own needs, and disregarding the needs of other languages. And that is exactly what the Valencian is going through, and that is scientifically called (*normalitzacio tandardization*).

And there is still a consideration that explains in part the indiscriminate acceptance of the Catalan orthography by the uninformed speakers (other reasons are also maintained for accepting it): the person who ignores the linguistic mechanisms and the relationship among the phonemes of his language and the symbols with which they are

represented, the letters, that person will confuse the exotic and the scientific. "Normalitzar" will be more "scientific" with than without it for many people who would not be able to explain why. And given the fact that the Catalan is more exotic in Valencia than the Valencian itself (it could not be otherwise), then, for some, it is automatically covered with a scientific halo, although in terms of the language they speak it is a lot of nonsense. It should be understood that a more archaic orthographic system is not, for that reason, more scientific. It is just more artful. And that a system which moves away from the graphic history of a language, without fitting better to its phonology, is less scientific.

4. Morphosyntax

It is frequently argued that the Valencian and the Catalan are one and the same language because they both have the same grammar. However, the morphological and syntactic differences are more numerous and, above all, with a differentiating character stronger than it may seem.

In Catalan, a peculiar cross between the verbs *ser* and *estar* takes place, sometimes justified with extraordinary ability. Unlike it happens in the Valencian language, *ser* is used to express position after the change: the speakers will say "*som aquí*" instead of *estem aci* but instead, they will use the participle of the verb *estar* for the passive voice: *ha estat dit*, rather than *ha sigut dit*; in the same way they will say *ha estat un accident*, etc. This etymological-semantic cross is characteristic and exclusive of the Catalan in relation to the rest of the Romance languages. In the same way there is a cross between *ser* and *haber*, and the speakers will say *no hi-* in place of *no hi-ha*. The Catalan speakers will use the imperfect form of the subjunctive tense "*-se*" in opposition to the form "*-ra*" of the Valencian: "*si no fose pas gras*" instead of "*si no fora gros*". And the respective forms of the verbal flexion are significant distinctive features.

Within the Catalan language there is the peculiar habit of moving prepositions to the final position and, as far as I can see, it is characteristic of this language and it does not exist in any other related tongue: "*arr unill sense*" rather than *arr ense cunill*, or *li cau sobre*, rather than *li cau damunt*, in Valencian, in accordance with the Latin etymology and the forms contained in the languages derived from it.

Going back to the prepositions, in Catalan the speakers will say *a* (place where) where the Valencians say *en* (*a Barcelona*, but *en Valencia*). On the other hand, when the preposition of the direct object is a person, it is omitted: "*Jaume va veure Pere*". They express the negative sentences with *pas*, in the French way; semantically questionable words are used ("*per si veiem res*").

The modifiers also provide remarkable contrasts. In the Valencian language, the possessive form usually precedes the noun ("*en ma casa*") while in Catalan it follows the noun ("*a casa meua*"). And peculiar modifiers of intensity are used. For instance, "*for be*, or *maviat prim*", that is, a substantive and a past participle are used, where logically, from a syntactical point of view, there should be placed two adverbs and, consequently, in Valencian we will say *molt be* and *mes be prim*.

Trying to decide in which cases there is Spanish or French influence, when the Valencian and the Catalan terms can be explained with reference to the classics and when they cannot, and how certain peculiarities characteristic of the Catalan are obvious deviations from Latin original forms and make this language different from the Valencian one, the same as from the rest of the other Romance languages, all of these, are most suggesting issues of historical and comparative grammar. But these are not of our concern now.

Criteria of synchronic linguistics are being applied in this discussion, and from this perspective, the mentioned differences, independently of their history, fulfil a clear distinctive function. Because most of the observed features are notorious. The mentioned thesis that "the two languages have the same grammar", that is, the same syntax, is not well grounded. Because the differences of the Valencian language that have been cited above are also shared by the Spanish; therefore, it can be stated that the Valencian grammar is closer to the Spanish system than to the Catalan one.

c) Literature

The expansion of an outstanding literature, whose highest point is known as the Golden Century, takes place in Valencia from the middle of the thirteenth century up to the end of the fifteenth century. It is created by a number of men who are strongly attached to their native land and are absolutely aware of their Valencian nature; and they do it using their own language, the language used in trade and love affairs, among friends and adversaries in their daily life, or the language used in familiar circles and for official affairs. It is a literature which merges from the Valencians' inalienable feeling and way of life and it is, therefore, unquestionably Valencian.

However, this is not what really matters here, but to point out that this language has reached the standard of expressive dynamism and intuitive-imaginative potentiality that enables it to represent, in its own terms, all the experiences, feelings and passions that literature is made up of. It is not just a system with communicative purposes any longer, it is also a cosmo-vision. It has reached the expression and density necessary to express

what in linguistic terms is called poetic level of function. This is the reason why one of the conditions that the language must observe in order to be distinguished from a dialect is its ability to generate a literature of its own. And this condition is, precisely, fulfilled by the Valencian language.

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And a further remark: neither a dialect, because of the ancillary uses it is assigned, nor an uprooted language, because of the specific elements that condition it, originate literature. It is worth noticing that languages of an old literary tradition such as the German and the French, have become literarily unproductive when they have been taken to other territories. As regards the British English, the American variant is dynamic, creative and prolific, while the African and the Australian variants are not. And the excellent American literature, on both sides of River Grande, has got value only after more than three centuries, since it has not been really important up to the Romanticism.

The Portuguese case is closer to the Valencian one. Portugal is constituted as an independent historical entity a hundred years before Valencia was, but its literature begins to exist two centuries and a half after the Valencian one did.

There must be an explanation for the quick bloom of the Golden Century, a unique phenomenon in the history of literature, and the answer can be found, it cannot be otherwise, in the character of the society of that time. And this is one of the main reasons why, strictly speaking, this literature is Valencian. And nothing else.

Those same reasons, taken to a more general context, are accepted as valid by the specialised intellectuality everywhere: if Faulkner is an American writer and he is not included in the English literature, and Borges is an Argentinian stylist, and he is not studied in the Spanish one, then, logically, Ausias March, who is a Valencian poet, should not be included in other literature rather than the Valencian one. Logically.

The preceding considerations have established the cohesion, in linguistic terms, the levelling, and the delimitation, or differentiation of the Valencian language, besides the fact that a literature has emerged from it. It seems difficult to refute, in objective terms, any of these points. Well then, the language, in contrast to the dialect, is "the linguistic system used by a speaking community, characterized for being strongly differentiated, for having a high levelling, for being the means of an important literary tradition and, sometimes for having imposed its own authority on linguistic systems of the same origin".

This last point is not a defining concept but just complementary. It happens "sometimes", not necessarily. Precisely the Swedish has not dominated other Southern German languages, nor has the Polish prevailed over other Slavonic languages, or the Bulgarian, the Sardinian, the Croat, the Hungarian and the Czech. And their status as languages has not been questioned in any case. What all of them have done is to maintain their individuality before the others; otherwise, they would have disappeared as it was the case of the Dalmatian. Then, we can do without this condition.

Thus, it turns out that the Valencian fulfils the three conditions necessary to be considered a language, in contrast to the dialect. There is no reason, in linguistic terms, to consider it a dialect of any other language. It is a wrong concept, just taken for granted, but with no solid grounds. It is based on a criterion of authority, not on reason or method. It is not scientific, it is dogmatic.

To sum up, we can appreciate that the linguistic resolution is controversial and yet not solved for all the Valencians living in the Valencian Community. An official answer to this question has been given by the official entity, the Valencian Academy of the Language, which declared clearly to avoid further misunderstandings or different interpretations, as it had happened in previous circumstances, that the language of the Valencians may be called Valencian but it may also be called Catalan because they are the same language. The institution has to preserve the differences belonging to the variety of the language but there is no point of discussion that it is the same language.

Opponents of the unity of the language claim that political interests are interfering with the linguistic considerations and they continue defending the independence of their language and their linguistic beliefs. But we know that the battle is not equal. They do not have the same means, neither political nor economic.

Needless to say that the bilingualism of the Valencians continues growing and perhaps more than ever because Catalans try to preserve their language and expand its use, having a daily struggle with the Spanish language, as they consider it the rival language, a language which has nothing to do in the Catalan community but nevertheless has never stopped growing. The teaching of Catalan is compulsory, and if you live in the Catalan community you must know the language, at school, at university and for the social use. Due to this aim of perseverance and domination, the bigger the territory where the language is spoken is, the more possibilities of predominance it has.

The fact of the matter is that nowadays at the Valencian universities students learn Catalan, not Valencian. The lectures are said to be in Catalan not in Valencian and the philologists are Catalan philologists. What we mean with this is that not even the name of the language has been maintained. The loss is complete. And the Valencian language spoken by middle-aged or old people is not the same as the one spoken by young people. Why not? Because the older people still continue speaking Valencian and the younger have learnt Catalan. We can foresee what will happen just in a few years' time.

With reference to the Valencians living in Buenos Aires we can state a clear difference. They are bilingual, and they know only two languages, they speak and understand two languages and with no doubt those languages are Spanish and VALENCIAN. The language of their country and the one of their community. Just those two.

1.6 DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT VARIETES

The Valencian Community is composed of three provinces, Castellón, Valencia and Alicante. It has got a total area of 23,255 kilometres square and its capital city is Valencia. As we can imagine, there must be a difference in the way of speaking between the people who live in the north (Castelló) and the people who live in the south, in the province of Alicante. But before stating the phonological differences we can briefly mention the phonemes in the Valencian language, at least the vowels and the consonants, to understand better the changes which we will make reference below.

We will explain the different vowels and consonants according to Saragossa's ¹⁵ description.

The Valencian vowels

An important part of the vowel system may be described in a very simple way: only with two articulatory properties, the aperture of the mouth and the position of the tongue.

The tongue may be found in three basic positions:

- 1- Flat, as when we pronounce the /a/
- 2- Forward, to the teeth, as when we articulate an /i/
- 3- Backward, to the soft palate, as when we pronounce the /u/

The vowels in which the tongue goes forward are called *back vowels*, as they are pronounced towards the back part of the mouth; the opposites are called *front vowels*, and those in which the tongue is found in a basic position receive the name of *central vowels*, as they are between the back and the front ones.

As regards the degree of aperture, the mouth is much opened when it pronounces the /a/. But if it pronounces an /i/ or an /u/, we will see that the tongue goes forward or backward, and it also rises. Therefore, the volume of the buccal duct gets smaller.

¹⁵ Abelard SARAGOSSÀ, *Gramàtica valenciana raonada y popular.-Els fonaments-*. Gandia, Alfons El Vell, 2003, pgs. 230-232 and 246-248.

Taking all this into consideration, it is understandable to have the following definition of the vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ :

/a/ central vowel with maximum aperture

/i/ back vowel with minimum aperture

/u/ front vowel with minimum aperture

If we intercalate a high grade of aperture, we get the system of seven vowels which is the one of the Valencian language.

Here we can see examples of each vowel of the Valencian language:
(the words that are not translated have a similar meaning in Spanish)

Table 1. Valencian vowels

/u/	<i>Gust, punt, pus, bus, suc</i> (juice), <i>ús, full</i> (form)
Closed /o/	<i>Gos</i> (dog), <i>tos, dos, molt</i> (a lot), <i>poll</i> (chicken)
Open /o/	<i>Got</i> (glass), <i>coss</i> (body), <i>lloc</i> (place), <i>bo</i> (good)
/a/	<i>Gat</i> (cat), <i>nas</i> (nose), <i>pas</i> (step), <i>mal, cas</i> /case)
Closed /e/	<i>Set</i> (thirsty), <i>meu</i> (mine), <i>el</i> (the), <i>pell</i> (skin), <i>bes</i> (kiss)
Open /e/	<i>Deu</i> (ten), <i>mel</i> (honey), <i>seu</i> (residence), <i>gel</i> (ice)
/i/	<i>Mil, fi</i> (end), <i>pi</i> (pine), <i>sis</i> (six), <i>ric</i> (rich), <i>vi</i> (wine)

Not only is the system of seven tonic vowels typical of the way of speaking in the Balearic Isles, the Valencian Community and Catalonia, but it is characteristic of the Romanic languages as well.

Those who have Spanish as the mother tongue and want to speak Valencian, have to pay special attention to the way of pronouncing the open /e/ and the open /o/. As we perceive more the vowels than the consonants, this difference between Spanish and Valencian is particularly noticed, to the point of determining whether we speak Valencian properly or not just by the adequate use of the aperture of the vowels.

The Valencian consonants

We have six plosive consonants, five fricatives, four affricates, three nasals, two rolls and two laterals, which makes a total of 22 consonants. If we add the seven vowels, we conclude that Valencian has 29 phonemes.

Table 2. Valencian consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	<i>Pi</i> (pine) <i>Bo</i> (good)	<i>Tot</i> (all) <i>Do</i> (gift)			<i>Cuc</i> (worm) <i>Got</i> (glass)
fricative		<i>Fofo</i> (soft) <i>Vi</i> (wine)	<i>Sis</i> (six) <i>zero</i>	<i>Feix</i> (bunch)	
affricate			<i>Tots</i> (everybody) <i>Dotze</i> (twelve)	<i>Punxa</i> (thorn) <i>Gent</i> (people)	
nasal	<i>Ham</i> (fishhook)		<i>Nina</i> (doll)	<i>Any</i> (year)	
roll			<i>Ara</i> (now) <i>Ric</i> (rich)		
lateral			<i>El</i> (the)	<i>Ell</i> (he)	

There is no difference in the way of pronouncing the bilabial, labiodental, dental, alveolar and velar consonants in the Balearic Isles, Valencia and Catalonia. Only in the palatal consonants we can find a variation in the Valencian speaking (that usually is the same as the speaking in Western Catalonia) and the speaking of Eastern Catalonia and Balearic Isles:

- 1- Those words which in the written language have got *ge* or *gi* (or *jo-ja-ju*), represent an affricate consonant in Valencia and fricative in Eastern.
- 2- Between vowels *o* in final position after a vowel, the *x* always represents a fricative consonant: *baixar* (get off, reduce), *calaix* (drawer). In initial position and after a consonant, it is also fricative in Eastern and affricate in Western: *xic* (boy), *pànxa* (belly). Moreover, in many Valencian names it is also fricative: *Xàtiva*, *Xeresa*, *Xixona*, *Xàbia*.
- 3- The *i* which is written before the *x* between vowels and in final position after a vowel (*baixar*, *calaix*) is generally pronounced in the West but not in the East.
- 4- In the past, the letters *g* and *tg* (or *j* and *tj*) represented different sounds, but nowadays they have merged in the speaking of the Valencian Community and Western Catalonia. However, in the East they continue differentiating them (the *g* represents a fricative consonant, whereas the *tg* is affricate).

On the whole, we have seen the Valencian phonemes, the vowels and the consonants. Now we are going to analyse the dialectal division that we can find in the Valencian language. This was clearly explained by Montoya Abat¹⁶ in a lecture that he gave in Majorca about dialectology and socio-linguistics. The division is as follows:

..

The sub-dialects: l'apitxat o central

Geo-linguistically, and from north to south, it comprises the southern half of central Valencia or apitxat, as it is better known because of the way of speaking, and it extends to the north, towards Sagunt.

Although it is a small region, it is densely populated and the most important of the Valencian country demographically speaking. It is the language we listen on television and on the radio.

The apitxat consists of some important phonetic changes on what is the phonic structure of the Catalan language.

There are two voiced consonants that turn into voiceless:

- a) the voiced affricate palatal /dz/ that becomes /t/ /
young: /'dzove/ changes into /'tlove/

and

- b) voiced fricative alveolar /z/ that turns into the voiceless /s/

rosa	rosa
/z/	/s/

els homes	els homes
/z/	/s/

l'arros és a punt	l'arros és a punt
/z/ /z/	/s/ /s/

It is an important change because it sounds strange to the other Valencian speakers and influences on the general structure of the Catalan language and on the normal sound.

¹⁶ Brauli MONTOLYA ABAT, *La situació del catalán en el País Valencià. De Valencia al Carxe y Guardamar*, Mallorca, Ajuntament de Manacor, 2002, pgs, 5-10.

The sub-dialects: The Meridional Valencian.

It is situated in the south of the 'apitxat'. It includes the cities of Xàtiva, Alcoy, Jijona, Gandía, Sueca and Denia.

This area, from the dialectal point of view, is identified with the general or ordinary Valencian. Omitting the 'apitxat' we could join this area with the North, the one of Castelló to find (extra-linguistically speaking), a 'purer Valencian'. The 'apitxat' may be considered as having a Spanish phonetic influence on the authentic language.

The Meridional Valencian, which is the most genuine of all Valencian, has certain features similar to the Eastern Catalan, when in fact, all the Valencian language can be considered within the Western Catalan. The Meridional Valencian can be said to be the most representative of the Valencian.

The most important feature is that it does not have a neutral vowel.

Another example is the verb '*eixir*' that means '*sortir*' (leave). In the past, in the Catalan language it was used '*eixir*' and '*sortir*' meant '*eixir*' by force. But whereas '*sortir*' replaced '*eixir*' in the Catalan language, in Valencian it is used '*eixir*'.

Another verb considered 'just Valencian' because it is not used in the rest of the Catalan countries, is '*gitar-se*' (go to bed), in Catalan '*anar all lit*'.

The sub-dialects: 'el tarbener'

Within the Meridional Valencian, we find remains of the Majorcan spoken by the people of the XVII century, in Tarbena and la Vall de Gallinera.

Tarbena is a town with more entity, so it has kept it with more vitality, whereas Vall de Gallinera is losing the Majorcan legacy. In fact, the Majorcans that occupied this area in the XVII century extended to the Marina Alta and Marina Baja, but where they particularly prevailed was in Tarbena. The Tarbener sounds like Valencian, but there are certain differences.

For example, the articles '*es*' and '*sa*'.

'*Sa*' for '*la*'; '*es*' for '*el*'.

e.g. '*sa barca*' instead of '*la barca*'

In the phonetic level, they drop the /d/ in middle position, as it generally happens in Valencian.

e.g. *unta* (*da*)

It is typical of Majorca the assimilation of different points of consonant articulation. For example, /p/ that gets to the point of articulation of the /s/ e.g. /sats/ instead of /saps/ (know)

As regards the /r/, it is pronounced in Valencian, but the-southern you go, the less it is pronounced.
e.g. 'es vaen gita(r)' (they went to bed)

But lexically the Majorcan has left vestiges in Tarbena, as they were studied by J. Veny (1970); J.Colomina (1986) or V. Beltrán (1994).

Examples:

'coresma' and not 'quaresma'

'bixest' and not 'bisiesto'

'crosses' instead of 'muletes'

'dissabte' with the meaning of 'vestpra' (afternoon)

The 'tarbeners' have two dialects, theirs and the one that they speak with the other Valencians.

e.g. If they use their dialect, they say 'es' and 'sa'

but when they have to speak with people that are not from their town, they use 'el' and 'la'.

The subdialects: l'alacantí- Vinalopó.

It is found at the bottom of the map, called ALACANTI or ALACANTÍ-VINALOPÓ because of the river.

What is the difference between the 'Alacantí' and the Meridional Valencian?

The 'apitxat' is a Valencian feature with a main Spanish influence on phonetics, and the 'Alacantí' has a Spanish influence on lexicology.

e.g. They say 'sacar'. 'saca aixó de dins de la caixa' instead of 'traure'

They also use 'llevar' 'lleva aixó a ca la tía' instead of 'porta aixó a ca la tía'

The city of Alicante

The city of Alicante deserves a separate chapter due to its peculiarities. In this city, people do not speak Catalan so much because in the middle of the c. XIX they stopped using it, they did not speak it in the family, so the children of these Castilian speaking families when they tried to acquire it again, they could not do it perfectly.

One of the features of these speakers is that they do not use the open vowels, they just use the close ones.

El Carxe (Murcia Region)

Another separate chapter has to be given for the most meridional Valencian sub-dialect and it is for El Carxe, in the Murcian region.

The most remarkable difference with the other subdialects is that they do not have a clear feeling of being Valencians. They say they are Murcians or even sometimes they say that they are neither Valencians nor Murcians. They use words that are very similar to the ones used by people from Aragon who are Catalan speakers, because they lack identity with their language.

Every Valencian from the Valencian Country would say that he is Valencian and speaks Valencian.

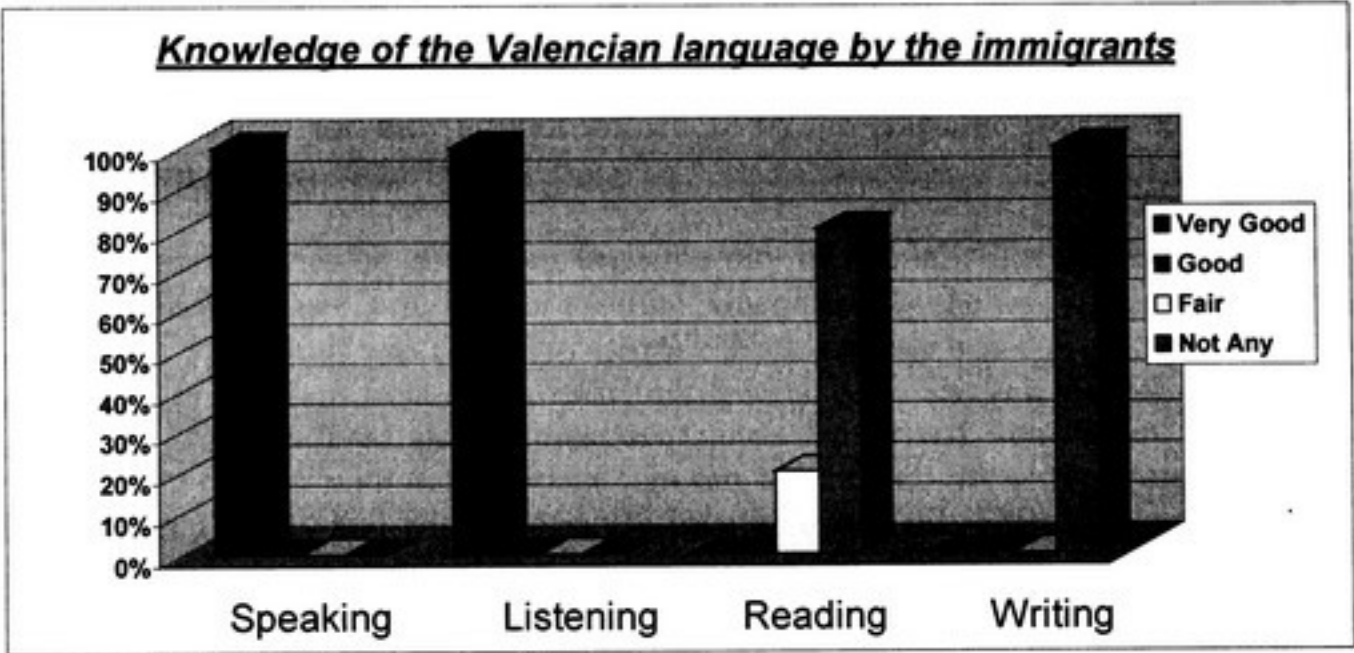
As regards the Valencians living in Buenos Aires, we must make reference to several things. First of all, we could interview a significant number of people and most of them speak the Meridional Valencian. We also counted with a person from the city of Valencia, with her "apitxat" dialect, which enabled us to compare the different ways of speaking, the vocabulary and phonetic. The difference is noticeable, but what has really drawn our attention is that the people interviewed arrived in Argentina between 1948 and 1952 and they continue keeping the differences. The place of origin of the interviewees is mainly the provinces of Valencia and Alicante. They come from the cities of Pego, Denia, Oliva, Gandía, Salem and Valencia.

All the interviewees agree on the knowledge of the language that they had when they arrived in Argentina. They all had perfect and fluent listening and speaking skills but they did not know to read or write the language, or at least they could read it with difficulties. We have already mentioned the reason for that. Under Franco's regime the vernacular languages were forbidden, their use was limited to the familiar setting and

Spanish was the only language permitted, the motto was ‘one language for one country’.

In the graph below we can appreciate the knowledge that the Valencian immigrants had of their language at the moment of their arrival.

Graph 1
Knowledge of the Valencian language by the immigrants at their arrival



Strange as it may seem, these percentages have not changed fifty years later. It is so surprising because they have not lost their speaking skills. Actually they have kept their different dialectal varieties and pronunciation. On the other hand they have never learnt to read or write it. Although they went to the Valencian centres in Buenos Aires, when the courses to learn the language were available, they never attended them.

In the interview that we had with them, we could appreciate the phonetic difference mentioned by Montoya Abat. We are making reference to the voiced affricate palatal that turns voiceless. When they were talking about a person that they knew and was now dead, the person from the city of Valencia said, "*tan jove*" /tlove/ and the other person from Pego (Alicante) answered, "*sí, tan jove*" /dzove/.

Then they started talking about the differences that they perceived as far as vocabulary is concerned. They expressed how they would say the same idea in their town. The example proposed by them was the phrase "*My mother scolded me*"

The person from Oliva would say: "*Ma mare m'ha marmolat*"

The one from Denia: "*Ma mare m'ha renyat*"

And the one from Valencia: "*Ma mare m'ha renyit*".

What really surprised us was that the group of people with whom they can speak Valencian is reduced, and it is getting smaller because they are old people and many of their Valencian friends or relatives are now dead, but they continue keeping their own language variation, and they are not influenced by the language spoken by a friend or relative from another town.

Only one interviewee, a woman from the city of Denia, Alicante, was not able to speak Valencian fluently during our meeting. Unconsciously she was speaking Valencian mixed with Spanish. It was the only case. We think that this was due to the fact that her situation was different from the other people interviewed. She is a lady of eighty years old, single, she has lived alone almost ever since she arrived from Spain, and has not had a direct contact with the language. On the other hand, her sister, from Denia too, could speak fluently and with no Spanish interference at all. The difference lies in the fact that her sister was married to a Valencian man, and at home to speak to each other they only did it in Valencian. The use of the language was constant and vivid.

By and large, it can be observed that these speakers have managed to keep their language alive, they enjoy speaking their language. During the interview they made jokes to the lady from Valencia because of her way of speaking, as if they were discovering that at that moment. They love seeing the differences because they realise that they have kept them. It seems they are proud of that, because they need to preserve their local identity, not just Valencians, but after so many years to feel identified even with the town where they were born. And this is really amazing.

1.7 ATTITUDE AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE DESCENDANTS

When we refer to immigration, we know that one of the most serious drawbacks is the disappearance of their language in their new community. And this does not usually happen with the generation 0, we mean, the immigrants themselves, but with the future generations, their children and grandchildren. Anyway, there are several factors about the generation 0 which must be taken into account in order to avoid a sooner disappearance.

Although the Valencians who emigrated to Argentina were Spanish speakers, they tried to transfer their vernacular language to a territory where that language was not spoken. Generally speaking, that situation implies the interruption of the intergenerational transmission of the language of the community.

There are some circumstances which contribute to a sooner or later interruption of the language. There are the following:

- a- The generation 0, that is to say, the immigrants, all those speakers who were born in the Valencian community. The closer this generation is, the easier it will be to keep the language. In the case of the Valencians they are the grandparents.
- b- The proportion of Valencian immigrants and descendants according to the place of destination. Unfortunately, this is not a positive aspect. We will later study how the Valencians tried to be together, choose their destination considering where the other immigrants were, but that was when they arrived in Buenos Aires. Now they are all spread and the Valencian institution that could join them has not succeeded in doing it. Therefore, perhaps the immigrants used to be together, but that does not happen with the descendants.
- c- The knowledge of the language among the immigrants. The less knowledge of Spanish of the immigrants, the more possibilities of preserving their language. Again, this is not the case of the Valencians. On the contrary, they handled all

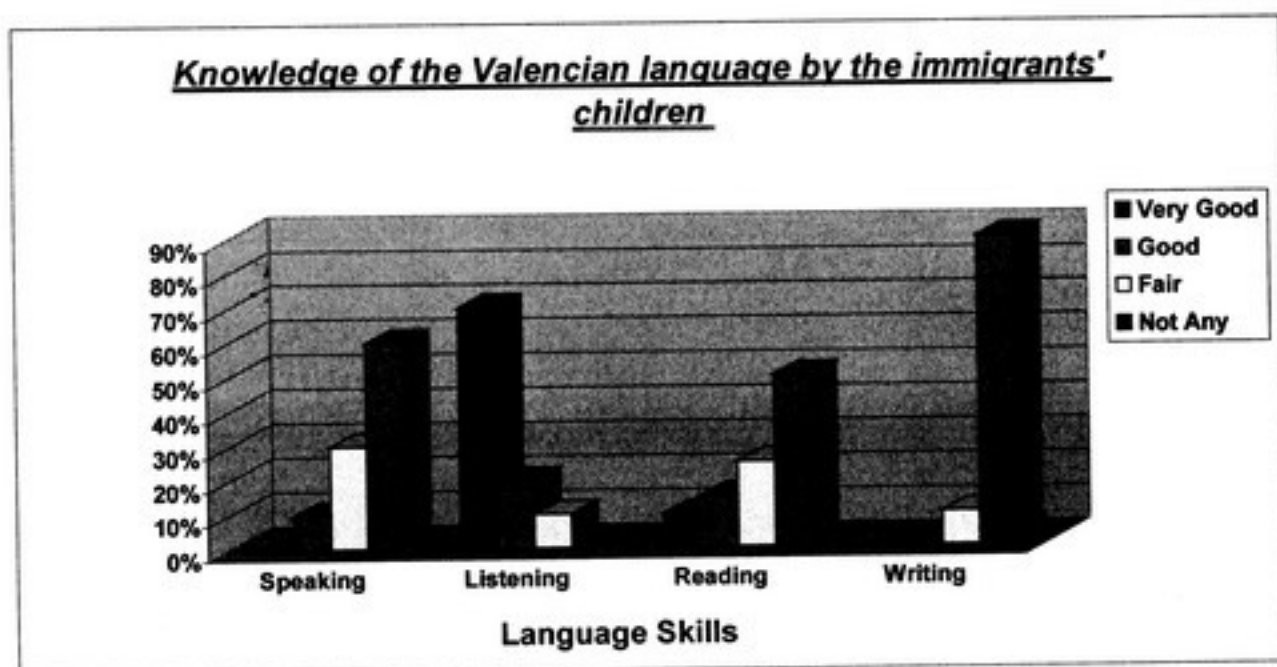
the Spanish language skills whereas they only had listening and speaking Valencians skills, which they kept perfectly, but only two language skills.

- a- the age of the immigrants. The older the person is at his arrival, the more chances of keeping the language. As we could see in the interview, in general the immigrants came with their families and they were in their twenties.
- b- When they came to Argentina. We have already mentioned that the immigrants we are studying arrived in the fifties, so they have stayed in the country for almost sixty years.

We asked the Valencians many questions in our interview. Almost all of them married to a Valencian person. Consequently they spoke Valencian at home. Their children are Argentine, except one woman whose oldest daughter is Valencian and the rest of her children from Argentina. So this would lead us to think that their children kept the language skills that their parents had. But that is not the case.

Let's see the knowledge that the first generation has of the Valencian language.

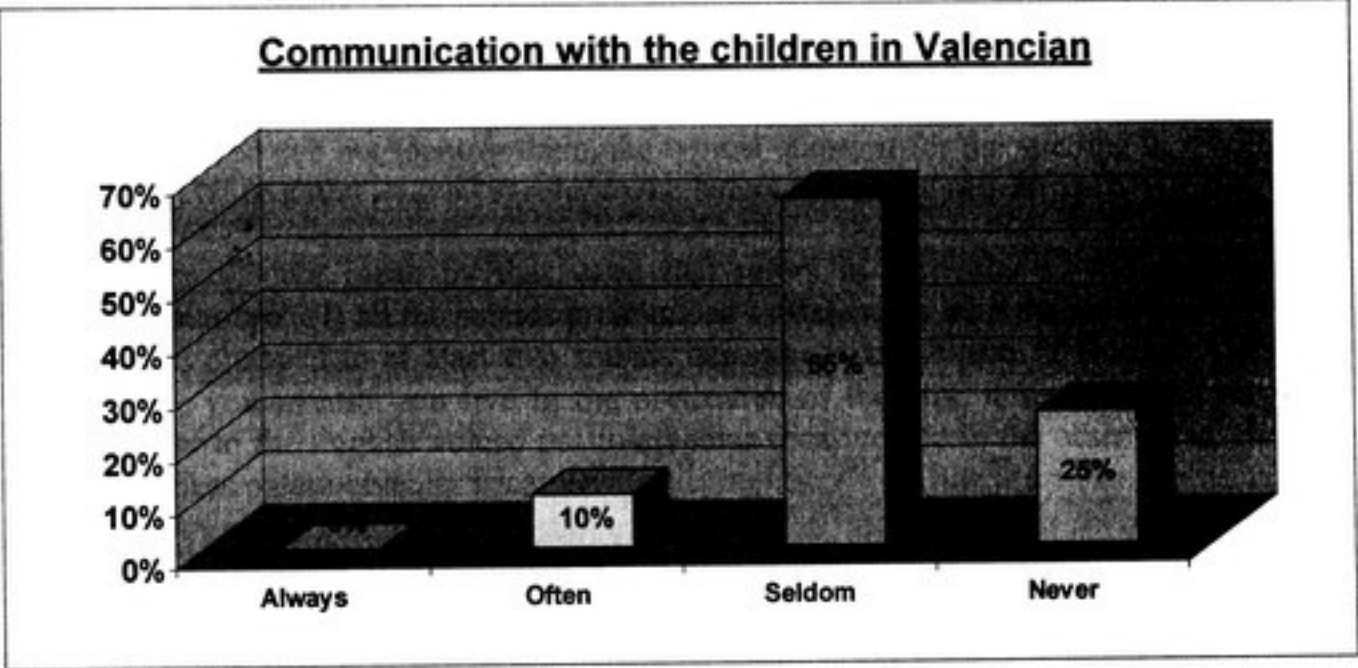
Graph 2
Knowledge of the Valencian language by the immigrants' children



This first generation of descendants is extremely important because it will depend on them either the transmission or the loss of the language. Unfortunately, their children only have a complete knowledge of the listening skill. They can speak it but not fluently, thinking word by word, they can read it with difficulty, perhaps a bit better if they have knowledge of French, and they can definitely not write it. The reason for this is very simple: their parents did not speak to them in Valencian when they were children. Valencian was spoken at home but between the parents. A typical situation in those families was the following: the whole family sitting at the table for dinner. The two Valencian parents and let's say two children. The parents speaking Valencian, the children Spanish, but when the parents (who had been speaking Valencian between them) had to address to any of the children, they did it in Spanish. Why did they do that? There are many answers given by them. They did not want to interfere in their education teaching them a language that was not even allowed in Spain, so they did not find any use in making their children learn a language which they did not know whether they could use it even in Valencia. Speaking only Spanish would ease the integration with the community they were living with.

The following graph shows the frequency with which the parents speak Valencian to their children.

Graph 3
Communication with their children using the Valencian language



This graph explains many things. It was impossible to acquire the speaking skill if they were not asked to use the language. And it was inevitable to understand the language if you listen to it all the time at home.

Nevertheless many of the descendants interviewed showed a kind of knowledge and intention of speaking the language but in this case we must consider different factors. First of all, the attrition, that is to say, the linguistic substitution. The influence of Spanish is always present. They are not fluent speakers so there is not only the problem of substitution but also the question of pronunciation. They find difficult to acquire a proper intonation and pronunciation, in particular certain of sounds that are completely strange to them. We are going to mention certain examples:

- the aperture of the vowels: We have seen that the vowels /e/ and /o/ may be open or closed and on the correct pronunciation of the aperture of these vowels depend whether we pronounce properly the Valencian language or not. In all the cases, the descendants show the lack of aperture of the vowels. It is not easy to acquire as these vowels do not exist in Spanish.
- Intonation: The descendants may vary in their level of accuracy when they pronounce but they agree on something. They all do it with an Argentine Spanish intonation, to be precise the one belonging to the River Plate Spanish variation.
- The sounds /b/ and /v/: There is no clear difference between these phonemes, the bilabial sound sounds the same as the labiodental one. Furthermore, to exemplify this, when you are dictating something and the person listens to these sounds and can not identify them, the typical question for the spelling is, "With 'short b' or with 'long b' to refer to the letters /v/ and /b/ respectively.
- "Yeísmo": We mean by that word that refers in particular to the personal pronoun "yo" (I) all the sounds pronounced in Valencian with the semi-vowel /j/ that is changed to at least two sounds depending on the area of Buenos Aires where you live. If you live in the north area of the city, it seems to be very similar to the English voiced palato-alveolar fricative and in the other areas, the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative.
- Loss of the /z/: The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is pronounced voiceless, as a /s/. The difference of these two sounds does not exist in Spanish either.

- The affricate alveolar phonemes: The Valencian language has two affricate alveolar phonemes that the Spanish language does not have. Therefore, it is very difficult their acquisition by the descendents. The typical examples are the words *potser* (perhaps) and *dotze* (twelve)
- Aspiration: This is common in non-fluent speakers, and typical of Argentine speakers, to have the aspiration in the phonemes /s/ in implosive position. For example: *es meu padrí, costura*.

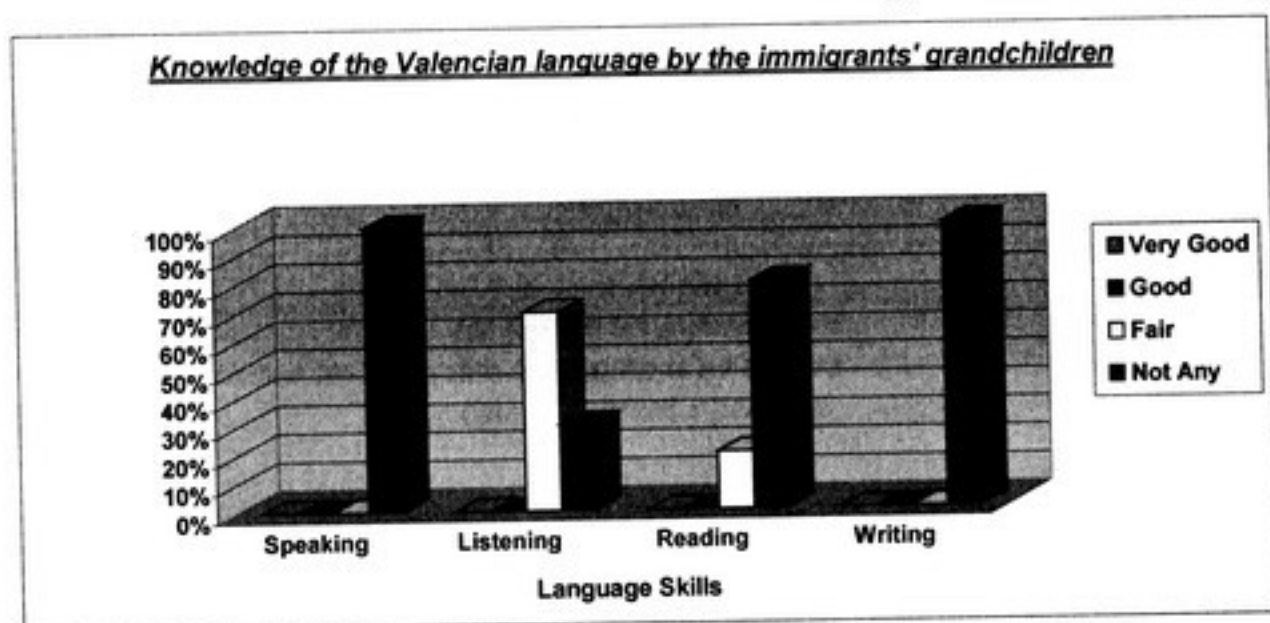
All in all, the first generation of descendents have a very good listening comprehension of the language. Most of them shared the same experience. They had the opportunity to travel to Spain, perhaps to different cities of Spain, but it was when they listen to the Valencian language in the street, on the radio or television, perhaps on their way by car or bus to the Valencian community, that they felt they were at home. Valencian is their home language, they have a complete understanding of it.

Unfortunately, the speaking part is weak. We have already explained the reasons for that, but we observe that it is a great loss for the first generation. This situation is usually observed in the future generations. Besides, the changes of pronunciation mentioned above would not be so serious if there were fluency. But there is not, and in general we are talking about people who are in their forties and fifties. They are not going to acquire it because there is no intention of doing so.

Now, let's see what happens with the generation two, that is to say, the grandchildren. And here the situation is getting even more serious. The listening skill that their parents have has not been not fully achieved by them. They understand certain words, and there are others that are just known by their Valencian names, as in the case of dishes. It is normal to listen that they eat "*arros al forn*" or "*arros a banda*" without being necessary to give the translation. They also know certain songs or sayings which were taught most probably by their grandparents. But they do not understand the language as a whole. Another factor to take into account is that their home is composed of Argentine parents, and in most of the cases only one of them belongs to a Valencian family. Therefore, only two out of the four grandparents are Valencian.

We are going to see the following graph which shows the knowledge of the Valencian language by the immigrants' grandchildren.

Graph 4
Knowledge of the Valencian language by the immigrants' grandchildren



This graph illustrates how serious the situation is, and if it does not change the next generation will have no knowledge at all of the Valencian language. The speaking and writing skills do not exist at all, they have still the listening skill although not fully developed and a bit less of the reading skills, almost always depending on the knowledge of another language that makes the reading comprehension easier.

We have made reference to certain songs and sayings which had been transmitted to their parents and then to them. There is almost no Valencian descendent who does not remember listening to these phrases when they went to sleep:

Bona nit
La puca més grossa
Que li pique el melic.

Or songs like this one:

*A ta mare l'he vista
Al barranc de l'Eixut
Que es menjava una coca --
i li xorrava el suc*

or like this:

*A la vora del riu, mare
He perdut les espardenyes,
Mare no li ho diga al pare
Que jo tornaré a per elles.*

What perhaps makes the situation more alarming is that most of the descendents are not taking Valencian lessons and are not planning to do it in the near future. Most of them admitted that they would like to know the language and perceive it as a question of keeping their roots. Despite this, the most important drawback that they find is the geographical situation of the Valencian centre "El Turia" and the few timetables offered to attend the classes. The following comparison will explain better what we mean.

The "Casal de Catalunya", the Catalan centre in Buenos Aires, is open to the public everyday. It has a very important library you can consult three days a week with the permanent presence of a librarian who is there to help you. Among the different activities offered, by the centre, you can get Catalan classes, on different days and timetables and with an attendance of 350 students. The Casal is located in the centre of the city of Buenos Aires, what makes it simple to get there either for the ones living in the city centre and for those who live in the whereabouts. This availability of location and timetables allows students to attend the classes after work or university.

The Valencian centre in the city of Buenos Aires "El Turia" is open to the public only on Saturday mornings. Consequently that is the only day when Valencian classes are offered. It has an attendance of fourteen students, which is not surprising. On Friday evenings the managing committee holds a meeting in the centre, but this is just for its members. The centre is located in the area of Mataderos, more than 10 kilometres far away from the city of Buenos Aires. The attendance to the centre by the Valencian

people or the ones interested in going is not encouraged due to several reasons. First because of the location, it is not an area easily reached and besides the availability of timetables is scarce. You are limited to Saturday mornings. There is no choice. Just once a week is not enough.

It would be wise to try to get in contact with the Valencian community living in Buenos Aires, to invite them, to encourage them to be part of a centre whose main objective is supposed to be to gather the Valencian community and in that way to preserve and spread the Valencian language and customs in the city of Buenos Aires and its surroundings.

All things considered, not only the Valencian language is under threat of disappearing but also the traditions settled by the immigrants. The descendents are now the tool to keep and spread that rich culture. But decisions have to be taken now before it is too late.

2.1 VALENCIAN AND CATALAN ENTITIES IN BUENOS AIRES

Many Spanish people chose Buenos Aires as their destination to settle down and start a new life here. As we have already studied, most of them arrived with their families and decided to raise their children in this country. Others built their families here and tried to adopt themselves as far as it was possible to the new habits and customs. But in almost all the cases they preserved that wish to keep their roots, their traditions. Although they were living in a foreign country they tried to be for some moments, or at least to feel that they were in their own country, province or even their small town. For this reason many Spanish centres and institutions were created. We have mentioned in the first part of this research how the Spanish institutions appeared little by little. The main purpose was to provide different services to the immigrants, such as health, employment and advice. But the most relevant service they managed to provide was to satisfy their different needs: the need to meet with other people from their own country, the need to listen to their native tongue, eat their traditional dishes and listen to their folk music. In short, for just some hours, to forget their homesickness and to feel they were not so far away from the things they love and that they were missing so much.

There are many Spanish and regional centres nowadays in Buenos Aires, and most of them belong to the Federation of Spanish Associations. Their main purpose is to preserve the local and regional customs and to transmit them to the new generation. Let's see some of the centres we can find today in the city of Buenos Aires and its surroundings.

ANDALUSIA CULTURAL CENTRE OF BUENOS AIRES (CeCABA)

This institution has the intensive task of keeping the presence of this great community of Southern Spain alive in Buenos Aires. It also tries to keep and transmit the well-known flamenco art by supporting the Andalusia Ballet, which is widely known by the Spanish community living in Buenos Aires. This artistic group has been performing activities to promote the Andalusian culture for many years.

Recently it has been held the First Andalusian theatre and poetry competition, with the help of the Junta de Andalucía.

Its address is 1690 Dr. Cánepa street, Santos Lugares (province of Buenos Aires), and the web page: www.cecaba.org.ar



Party at the CeCABA. Andalusia Ballet

ARAGON CIRCLE – BUENOS AIRES

The Aragon Circle was founded on 18th July, 1915 merging in only one institution all the Aragonese associations existing at that moment in the city, such as Los Baturros, Orfeón Zaragozano, Orfeón Aragonés and Joaquín Costa Centre. Originally it was placed on 253 Tacuarí Street in the city of Buenos Aires. Nowadays it is on 1872 Fray Justo Sta. María de Oro street, in the city of Palermo in the province of Buenos Aires. Its web page is www.aragonbuenosaires.org.ar

ASTURIAN CENTRE OF BUENOS AIRES

In the last years of the XIX century and the first of the XX, the Asturian people living in Buenos Aires promoted different initiatives to create institutions to gather them. Thus, the Asturian Circle and the Asturian Orfeon were created. On 23rd

February, 1913 a new institution was founded, the Asturian Centre. In 1925 the building that is on use nowadays, on 475 Solís street, was bought. With the patronage of the Prince of Asturias and the Infanta Beatriz (daughter of King Alfonso XIII and Victoria Eugenia de Battenberg) on 8th September 1927 it was held the ceremony where the foundation stone, which was brought from Covadonga, was settled.

There are other Asturian centres in Buenos Aires. One on 1081 Libertador Avenue, in the city of Vicente López and another on 1348 Presidente Sarmiento street, in the city of Lanús, both of them in the province of Buenos Aires

CANTABRIA HOUSE – MONTAÑÉS CENTRE

At the beginning of the XX century these immigrants started to gather socially in their own institution. Therefore, they opened the Montañés Liebana Centre in 1916, and the Montañés Centre “El Cantábrico” in 1922. In 1923 their members wanted to join both entities and they founded the “Montañés Centre of Buenos Aires”, which has been opened since then.

In 1934 their own building was bought in the city of Belgrano and provides social, cultural and sporting activities. It also has an important library with more than four hundred books and it offers wide information about the Autonomous Community of Cantabria.

It keeps a close relationship with the Cantabrian Autonomous Administration. The centre is situated on 2818 Jorge Newbery street, in the city of Buenos Aires.

BURGALESE CENTRE

It was founded on 4th February 1917 and since 1950 it has been opened on 5764 Rivadavia Avenue in the city of Buenos Aires. This centre shares the building with the Numancia Centre. During the first years, the main activity performed was mainly social, as in the other Spanish regional centres, but today the cultural and sporting activities are the principal ones. Castilian dancing classes are offered on Saturdays as well as Spanish folk in general. The centre also counts with an important library.

ARGENTINE EXTREMENIAN ASSOCIATION

The Argentine Extremenian Association Centre is a collaborator centre of the Labour and Social Affairs Counsel of the Spanish Embassy. It was founded on 26th July 2002.

It is situated on 5750 Castelli street, in the city of Vicente López in the province of Buenos Aires.

GALICIAN CENTRES

The Galician centres should be described separately because of the wide variety of institutions which can be found not just in Buenos Aires but in Argentina in general.

Not only are there many Galician centres but also others belonging to the different districts or regions. For instance, we can name associations from Puenteareas, Pontevedra, Corcubión, Carballiño, Moraña, Buján, Boiro, Oleiros, Zas, Vigo, Lugo, Rodeiro, Betanzos, La Estrada and many others.

To put it briefly, we are just going to mention the House of Galicia and the Galician Centres in Buenos Aires.

HOUSE OF GALICIA

It was originally founded on 20th September 1918, but for economic reasons and differences among its members, it closed soon afterwards. On 21st September 1933 the House was founded again, keeping its original principles of solidarity, culture, art, recreation and recovery of the Galician values in Argentina.

In 1970 and with the help of the Spanish government the House that is still in use today was bought. It is located on 224 San José street, in the city of Buenos Aires.

CENTRES GALICIA OF BUENOS AIRES

There is one in the city of Buenos Aires, on 1841/45 Belgrano Avenue and another in the city of Olivos, in the province of Buenos Aires, on 2955 Libertador Avenue.

GALICIAN CENTRE OF BUENOS AIRES

It is located on 2199 Belgrano Avenue, in the city of Buenos Aires.

BALEARIC HOUSE

Although at the beginning of the XX century there were different centres in Buenos Aires of residents of the islands, such as the Majorcan Circle, the Ibicenco Centre, Menorca Unity and Balearic Protector, on 13th August 1905 the Balearic Centre was founded and it is today called the Balearic House.

The purpose of this association is to strengthen the values of the Balearic tradition and culture.

It is situated on 841 Colombres street, in the city of Buenos Aires.

CANARIAN CENTRES

There is one in the north of the city of Buenos Aires, in Villa Adelina, on 1028 May Avenue and another on 280 Rivera Indarte street, in the city of Buenos Aires.

SPANISH LA RIOJA CENTRE OF BUENOS AIRES

The first centre was opened in 1923 and thanks to the economic help of the government of La Rioja Community they could have their own building. It is located in the city of Buenos Aires, on 954 Belgrano Avenue.



Dancing group at the La Rioja Centre.

CENTRE COMMUNITY OF MADRID

It is located on 2660 French street, sixth floor, apartment C, in the city of Buenos Aires.

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NAVARRERE CENTRE

The first entity was founded on 3rd November 1895 and it was the Orfeón Gayarre Centre.

In 1920 they bought the land where they would build the house they are still using nowadays, on 3682 Moreno street, in the city of Buenos Aires. On 31st March 1934 they opened the building to the public.

There is a game-room, a restaurant and a library specially focused on information about Navarra.

BASQUE HOUSES

We can find more than one place where the Basque people can meet. There is the Basque House – Euskaltzaleak, on 1144/50 Belgrano Avenue, in the city of Buenos Aires; the Foundation Basque – Argentine Institute on 3149 General César Díaz street, also in the city of Buenos Aires, and last but not least, the Basque Argentine Foundation Juan de Garay, in the above mentioned city, on 846 Roque Saenz Peña Avenue, first floor.

These institutions have the main aim of promoting the Basque tradition and culture in Buenos Aires. Their presence comes as a result of the important Basque immigration in Argentina. It is estimated that about the ten per cent of the population has ancestors of Basque origin.

In brief, these are the Spanish regional centres that we can find in the city of Buenos Aires and its surroundings. Now we are going to see in detail the Valencian and Catalan centres and we are going to analyse the relationship existing between them.

The first Valencian centre which existed in Buenos Aires and which received most of the Valencian immigrants was called "El Micalet" and was founded at the end of the nineteenth century. Many parties, paellas and dances were organised there with the aim of joining the Valencian community just arrived from Spain. It was attended by the immigrants and many Valencian couples were formed there. The main difference between the Valencian centre "El Micalet" and the "Falla Valenciana El Turia" existing today and which we will describe below, is that in "El Micalet" Valencian was the language spoken by the people who attended it, no other language was heard whereas in "El Turia" Spanish is the only language spoken, nobody speaks Valencian there.

The Valencian centre "El Turia" was founded in 1951 and at the beginning many people went to both Valencian centres as the main objective of "El Turia" was to keep the activity concerning the "fallas" and the authorities of "El Micalet" kept a more social life, but soon after "El Turia" opened "El Micalet" closed and "El Turia" was the only centre which remained opened. The authorities of "El Turia" are trying to get all the files and records from "El Micalet" but up to now it seems to be a difficult task.

"FALLA VALENCIANA EL TURIA"

It is located in the province of Buenos Aires, on 6051/55 Tonelero Street.

On August 1951 a group of Valencian people who were living in the province of Buenos Aires gathered with the intention to put into practice what was a tradition in their native land. Therefore, on March 19th they installed a "falla" and burned it afterwards. The main purpose of this was to keep the customs and traditions inherited in their homeland. The "falla" was planted in a popular neighbourhood of the province.

Due to the success achieved, they decided to start an association which could maintain the continuity of the "falla". In 1954 the first "falla" was planted in the centre of the city of Buenos Aires with the help of the Town Hall authorities. Hence, the celebration was institutionalised and so was the building of the "falleros" monuments which were getting bigger year after year.

All the "fallas" that were planted were a great success thanks to the support of the Spanish community living in Buenos Aires and to the interest and affection expressed by the Argentine community.

Among the most impressive “fallas” we can make reference to the burning which took place in the Argentine Rural Society in the city of Palermo in Buenos Aires in 1953. This place was also used for the same event in the years 1957, 1959, 1960 and 1962.



“Fallas” in the Argentine
Rural Society

There were other “fallas” which were held in the 9th of July Avenue in the city of Buenos Aires in the years 1954, 1955, 1965, 1967 and 1968. They were very well-welcome not only by the public but by the media as well. It is worth mentioning that the “falla” which was installed in 1954 introduced for the first time in Buenos Aires the satire when dealing with an important event of that time.

The “falla” planted in the city of La Boca in 1961 deserves a special mention. It was exposed for three days, then it was totally dismantled to be planted again inside the Boca Juniors football stadium, where afterwards the “crema” (burning) took place.



"Fallas" in La Boca

In 1956 and 1958 the "fallas" were held in the clubs DAOM and Atlanta respectively. The clubs lent their premises to make this celebration possible.

The rest of the "fallas" took place alternatively in the city of Liniers and in the Spanish heart of the city of Buenos Aires, in the junction of the May Avenue and 9th of July Avenue, as well as in Puerto Madero, nowadays an elegant district in the city of Buenos Aires, where the best restaurants and most expensive flats are located.

In the eighties, the celebration was changed to the month of October with the purpose of making it part of the events for the week of the Spanish World. Thus, the whole Spanish community could enjoy and participate in the "fallas".



In such occasions, the “plantá” (installation) was made on 9th October, which is the day of the Valencian Community, while the “cremá” (burning) on the 12th as the closing event for the celebrations.

ACTIVITIES

9TH of October. Day of the Valencian Community

This celebration dates back to the year 1238, when the Muslim troops were still occupying Valencia. After a bloody battle, the army led by King James I conquered the city.

To remember this significant event, the Valencian centre organises a ceremony that ends with the traditional “paella” served in the main hall of the building.

Dancing Folk group

In the centre this group is considered as a symbol of the presence of Valencia in Buenos Aires, as it transmits and spreads the true folk Valencian expressions. It dates back to the “fallas” planted in 1952 and it has obtained many prizes in competitions held with the other groups from the Spanish community in Buenos Aires.





This group performed in the Avenida theatre, on the May Avenue in Buenos Aires, on several occasions, in shows called "Romerías" with well-known Spanish personalities.

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Library

There is a library and most of the books have been given by the Valencian Generality and by members or friends. We can find books, brochures, catalogues, posters and books in the Valencian language.

Should we consult the "Falla Valenciana El Turia" webpage, we will discover to our amazement full information about certain aspects of the institution. For instance, its history; the different "fallas" that were held during the fifties and sixties; the "fallero"

plane which has the purpose of organising a trip to Valencia due to the fact that the "fallas" are not planted in Buenos Aires anymore; the dancing folk group, which has a long and detailed description, mentioning the different instructors, competitions held and won, ages of the dancers and all the information concerned with the performance of the ballet; a brief reference to its library and at last the celebrations that take place in the same institution, at other Spanish centres and the ones organised for the Month of the Spanish Community.

Were we interested in knowing about the different courses to attend Valencian classes, timetables, levels offered or bibliography needed, we would feel disappointed or would have to phone for further information. But always taking into account something: to phone on Saturday mornings because that is the only day in which we can find somebody in the centre.

CATALAN CENTRE THE "CASAL OF CATALUNYA" IN BUENOS AIRES

This centre is 118 years old and it is a living example of what the Catalan immigration to Argentina was like, and in particular to Buenos Aires. It was the shelter and point of reunion of the first Catalan immigrants. It also became a centre with a great literary, cultural and political activity in the city, and together with the Casales from Mexico, Santiago de Chile and Montevideo, it was the place where the post-war emigration could gather.

The Catalan centre was created on June 12th 1886 by a part of the Catalan community living in Buenos Aires.

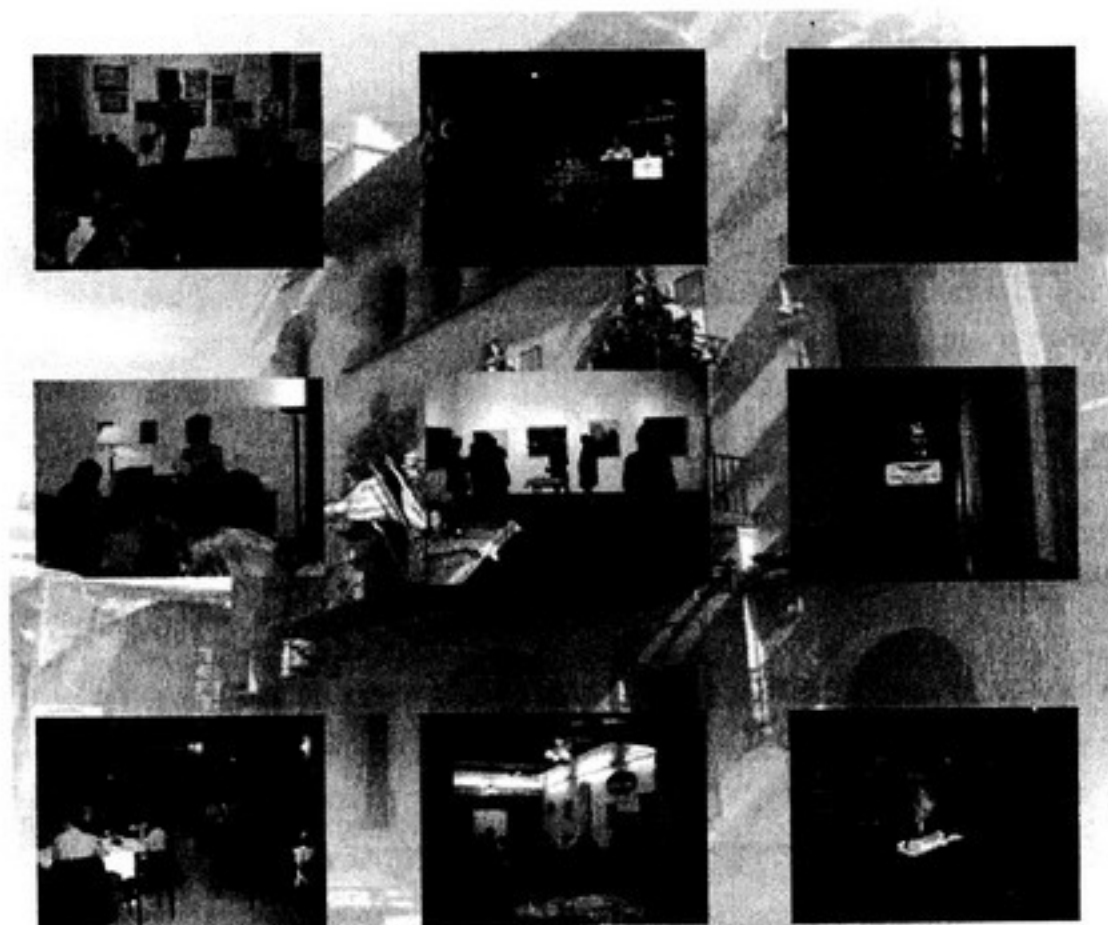
The building has more than five thousand metres square and it is found in the district of San Telmo, within the so-called "historic area" of the city.

The frontage of the building is of a Catalan modernist style.



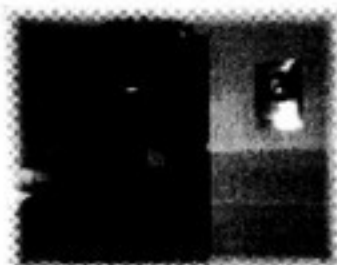
On the ground floor we can find the library "Pompeu Fabra"; the secretary's office; the Counsel meeting room; the Gaudi room, which is used for expositions, conferences and games; the recently restored theatre lobby called "Saló Blanc" and the magnificent theatre room "Margarita Xirgu" with a capacity for six hundred people. Next to it, we can find the restaurant "Hostal dle Canigó" with a dining-room for one hundred twenty people.

On the first floor we find the auditorium "Angel Guimerà" for one hundred twenty people; the room "Antoni Tapies", which is used for expositions of pieces of art; the room "Centenari" for rehearsals and dancing classes; the room "Joan Miró" where concerts and eventually expositions are organised; and the room "Pau Casals" used both for the Catalan classes and several other activities with the same characteristics.



The library of the Casal, "Pompeu Fabra", is provided with more than fourteen thousand books, some of them with an important historical value. It is constantly consulted by journalists, historians, students and the public in general.

It is open to the public and there is a librarian who can help you find whatever you need. It is open on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays from 4.00 p.m. to 8 p.m.



Library "Pompeu Fabra" in the Casal of Catalunya

To keep the Catalan community informed, the Casal of Catalunya also has a radio programme on the station AM 890 Radio Soberanía and it is called The Catalan time (La hora Catalana). It is on the air on Saturdays from 1.00 p.m. to 3 p.m.



Catalan classes

The Casal offers Catalan classes from April to December every year. The teachers who give the classes are graduated and officially recognised by the Ramón Llull Institute. There are five different levels and eventually there are intensive courses for those people who have to travel and need to know the language more quickly. Such courses have twenty hours in a month.

The classes are free for the members of the Casal who have more than a year of seniorship. Those who are not members can also take the classes at very reasonable prices. The average of students in the last years has been of three hundred and three hundred and fifty students per year. Every two years the Ramón Llull Institute examines the students providing them with the official certificates.

There are different timetables to choose and different days. For instance, on Mondays at 5.00 p.m., Tuesdays at 10 a.m. and 12 at noon; Wednesdays at 7.00 p.m. and Thursdays from 3.00 pm to 5.00pm, 5.00 pm to 7.00 pm and from 7.00 pm to 9.00 pm.

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In addition to this, the Casal of Catalunya offers tango classes, there is a choir, a choir for children, classical dancing, board games, drama, and other activities constantly offered to its members by email.

All in all, we can appreciate that despite the many difficulties that these centres have to suffer, mainly economic, the Casal of Catalunya is making an incredible effort to keep the Catalan spirit alive in the city of Buenos Aires. They are constantly opening their doors to show exhibitions of art, concerts, lectures, football games, inviting the younger members to take part in the wide range of activities offered, presenting books, in brief, reminding the community that there is an important Catalan culture eager to be discovered by the public.

Relationship between the Valencians and the Catalans in Buenos Aires

We have explained how the two different centres, the Valencian and the Catalan, work in order to keep and spread their customs and traditions. It would be interesting to know how the relationship between them is and with the other Spanish regional centres. For this reason, we had an interview with the president of the Valencian centre "Falla Valenciana El Turia" and the president of the Casal of Catalunya. Needless to say, we interviewed them separately, they did not have to meet personally, and you will immediately understand why we are making reference to this.

When we went to the Valencian centre we were received by Oscar Reis, who was the president of the institution at that moment. Nowadays the centre is led by Enrique Losano, who is also the Valencian teacher. When we asked Mr. Reis about the relationship and communication with the Casal of Catalunya, he defined it as simply inexistent. He explained this is due to the fact that the Catalans constitute an autonomy which does not either interact or participate with the rest of the Spanish communities in Buenos Aires. The same situation is observed with the Basque community. The Valencians, as we have already mentioned above, belong to the Federation of Spanish Associations. That means that there is a permanent integration among the different Spanish communities, taking part of their regional festivities and organizing together the celebration for the 12th October. The Catalans and the Basque do not want to be part of this.

With reference to the Valencian language, Mr. Reis claimed that it is a language which shows differences and similarities as regards the neighbouring languages, but it is a different language.

In the Casal of Catalunya we could have the interview with its president, Mr. Jordi Font. In regard to the relationship with the Valencian centres, he explained that there has never been any kind of communication or contact with the Valencians at all. They have never had Valencian members in their centre and they have never started any kind of dialogue or conversation with the Valencian centre. They do have it with the Balearics but not with the Valencians. The reason he gives for this strange situation, at least strange for us and hard to understand that two communities which have so many things in common can be so distant and indifferent to each other, is that the main difference between them lies on the fact that the Catalans are and feel completely "anti-Spain" and the Valencians can not even imagine that feeling towards Spain, consequently they can not either accept it or understand it. The Catalans do not have any kind of contact with the other Spanish entities, except for the Basque and the Balearics. They do not have it because they simply refuse to have it. They keep a relationship with the Basques because they share the same feelings towards Spain and with the Balearics because of a question of affinity. The Catalans do not take part in any kind of celebration or event which concerns Spain. In the first place, in view of a question of principles, and secondly owing to tradition. When the King Juan Carlos and the Queen Sofía came to Argentina, they were welcome by the all the Spanish communities who were invited to a dinner party but the Catalans refused to go. Furthermore, should you go to the Casal of Catalunya, you will find the Catalan, the Argentine and the European flag, but not the Spanish one. At the entrance of "Falla Valenciana El Turia" we find the Argentine and the Spanish flag, together with the Valencian one. The Catalans do not belong to the Federation of Spanish Entities and do not participate in the exhibition of Spanish communities but they do take part in the one of Foreign communities. To their way of thinking, the Valencians have another profile, they feel first of all Spanish and that is with no doubt the main reason for the absence of relationship between both communities.

With respect to the Valencian language, he defined it not even as a dialect or variety but just as a way of speaking; to put it briefly and clearly, an accent, simply an accent.

Unfortunately, and strange as it may seem, what could have been a rich and profitable integration between communities which are so far away from their native land and which are so close geographically and culturally, here in Buenos Aires there is only a division. They are divided by something deeper and more extense than an ocean. There is an ideological and socio-political barrier that makes impossible any kind of project or approach between fellow citizens. And that is something that we deeply regret and we truly wish this situation changed in the near future.

2.2 SPANISH ESSENCE AND AUTONOMY

We have made reference to the relationship between Valencians and Catalans in Buenos Aires, a situation which has really drawn our attention because they belong to neighbouring communities and both try to keep and transmit their own language, a language which in fact has now officially been determined to be the same. Thus, it would be sensible to be together so as to feel stronger in the struggle of preserving and spreading their language. But the reasons given for this separation go beyond the language itself. They have to do with their feelings, with national identity and there lies the main difference.

With respect to this, we have read an article published in “Clarín” newspaper¹⁷ which can help us to start to understand this issue. Because the question of the identity, how the Valencians feel and how the Catalans do, whether the Valencians feel more Spanish than the Catalans, is not limited to the Argentine territory. The same obviously happens in Spain. That is why, to start with, we will make reference to this article.

José Alvarez Junco, a Spanish historian and Counsellor of the State, points out in the interview the controversial concept of identity. He declares that this question dates back to the XIX century, a time with many changes in Spain, turning from a monarchy to a republic, from a unitary republic to a federal one, then to a coup d'état. And all that instability led to a lack of acceptance of the regime by all the population. Therefore, it was very difficult to establish national symbols which were shared by all the people. For instance, there were three flags and two national anthems. With Franco in power, the dictatorship took possession of some of those symbols but the young people in the 60's did not feel that flag or those symbols kept as Spanish as theirs, it was the flag of the regime, they were the symbols of the regime. At that moment, at the end of the Franquism, the Basque and Catalan nationalism suddenly emerged as a modern, democratic and European movement. They opposed to the Franquism, and as a result of

¹⁷ BOSOER, Fabián, *La debilidad institucional es otra mala herencia española*, *Clarín*, Argentina, 13 de mayo de 2007, pp. 42-43 (“Zona”)

that, there is a process of disapproving the Spanish essence and approving the nationalist alternative to the Spanish one. The Spanish people have lived in that situation for the last forty years. In effect, the Spanish constitution admits the right to the autonomy of the regions and to the nationalities that constitute Spain. The fact that there is an explicit reference to the existence of several nationalities may seem to the ordinary citizen as a treason to the unity of the country and indeed the conservative right wing feels like that and shows their feelings whenever they can.

To Alvarez Junco's mind, in Spain, due to the heritage of the Franquist dictatorship, whatever is considered "Spanish" is linked to the authoritarian regime, and the Basque and Catalan essence represent the fight for democracy and freedom, modernity and Europeism.

This could be perhaps a first step to understand why the Catalans want to be considered "Catalans" and not "Spanish" and why they disapprove the Valencians' attitude of feeling first of all Spanish. But let's go little by little and analyze if the Valencians meet the necessary conditions to consider themselves first "Valencians" and not "Spanish" as it actually happens. Were this to be the case, then we should try to find an explanation for this lack of regional nationalism.

Rafael Castelló¹⁸ deeply investigated why the Valencians feel more Spanish than the members of any other autonomous community with a language different from Castilian. The most Spanish tendencies are seen in Castile La Mancha, Madrid, Castile, León and the Valencian community. Therefore, paraphrasing Sherlock Holmes, he asks the question, "Why does the dog not bark in the Valencian community?", and he really means and wonders why the Spanish identity surpasses the national identity of the Valencian people. He explains that there are several identity elements of which we can highlight three: the territory, the language and the construction of a collective alternative among the people who conform Spain.

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The territory

There is no nation without a territory, that is why the autonomous perception of the own territory is a central identity element. The main difference between the Valencians and the Catalans is not that the Catalans identify themselves territorially more with Catalonia than the Valencians with the Valencian community. The difference lies in the fact that the Valencians feel much more identified with the territory of Spain as a whole. The Catalans perceive a higher territorial incompatibility between Catalonia and Spain. Spain is the relevant territorial unity for the Valencians. The great majority opt to be identified with Spain.

¹⁸ CASTELLÓ, Rafael, *Algunes hipòtesis sobre els nacionalismes dels valencians*, Diàlegs, Revista d'Etudis Polítics i Socials, Valencia, 2000, pp. 57-90

The language

The language has a different relationship with the concept of nation. It is one of the possible elements but it is not either theoretically necessary or practically sufficient to build a national identity (what we do always need is a territory). There are two languages in the Valencian community, Castilian or Spanish and Valencian. The question is that Castilian is considered a "high" language, used in the formal communication and Valencian, the "low" language, is preferred for the informal communication. This situation is defined by Ninyoles¹⁹ as diglossia, term which was first introduced into the English language literature on sociolinguistics by Charles Ferguson in order to describe the situation found in places like Greece, the Arabic-speaking world in general. In all these societies there are two distinct varieties or languages, of which one is used only on formal and public occasions while the other is used by everybody under normal, everyday circumstances. The two varieties or languages are usually called "high" and "low", or "standard" and "vernacular".

It is clear that Castilian holds a higher structural position than Valencian. Furthermore, people who speak Valencian in the Valencian community feel as Spanish as the people who speak Castilian. Hence, there is very little relationship between the linguistic community and the national community.

Construction of a collective alternative

If we have a collective identity is because we can build a "we" and consequently its counterpart a "they". Both must be clearly differentiated.

In the case of the Catalans, they have a clear Catalan "we" and their "they" is Madrid and Andalusia. On the other hand, in the Valencian community there is a "we" but all the Spanish people conform their "we". Thus, there is not a significant "they" within Spain. Perhaps there is a "they", but positive, referring to Catalonia, as the "anticatalanism", supports and reinforces the Spanish national position of the Valencians.

To determine which the national positions of a concrete collective are, Castelló²⁰ prepared several questions which let him compare the Valencian and Catalan's feelings in Valencia and Catalonia. We asked the same questions to the Valencians and Catalans living in Buenos Aires to draw a comparison and see whether they differ in their feelings despite the distance. The questions and the graphs showing the results in Spain have been taken from Castello's work.

¹⁹ NINYOLES, R.L., *Conflicto lingüístico valencià*, Valencia, Tres i Quatre, 1969

²⁰ CASTELLÓ, Rafael, *Les posicions nacionals al País Valencià i Catalunya: diferències en la composició de la definició nacional de la realitat*, Quaderns de Ciències Socials, València, 2001, pp. 3-54.

The first question is:

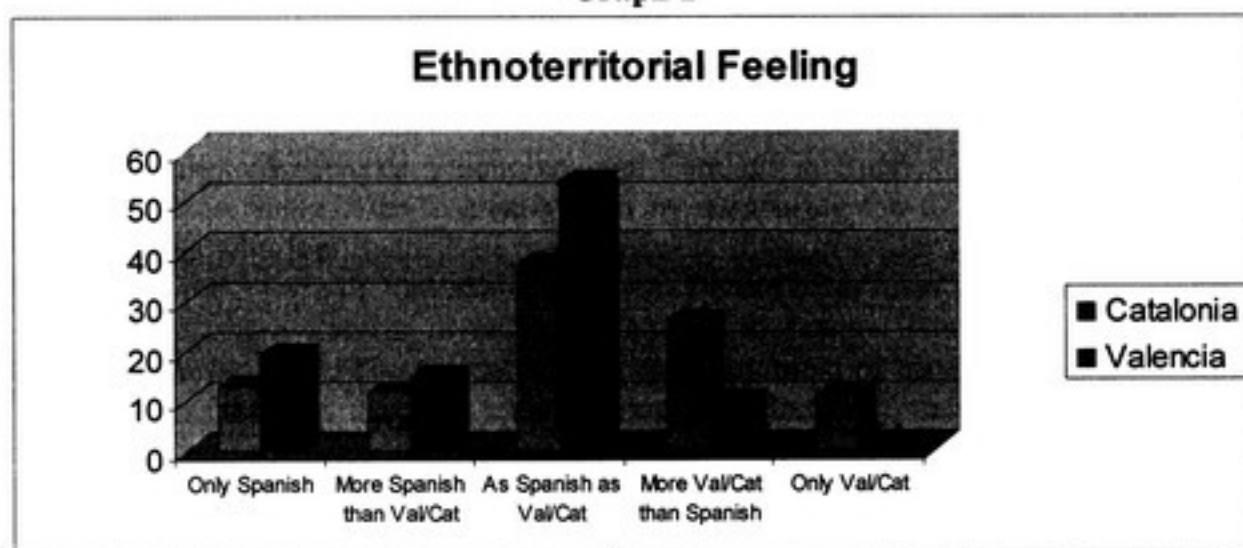
1- With which of the following phrases do you feel mostly identified?

- a- I only feel Spanish
- b- I feel more Spanish than Valencian or Catalan
- c- I feel as Spanish as Valencian or Catalan
- d- I feel more Valencian or Catalan than Spanish
- e- I only feel Valencian or Catalan

This question aims to get the feeling of ethnoterritorial identity although it can not get the national identity itself.

In Spain the result was the following

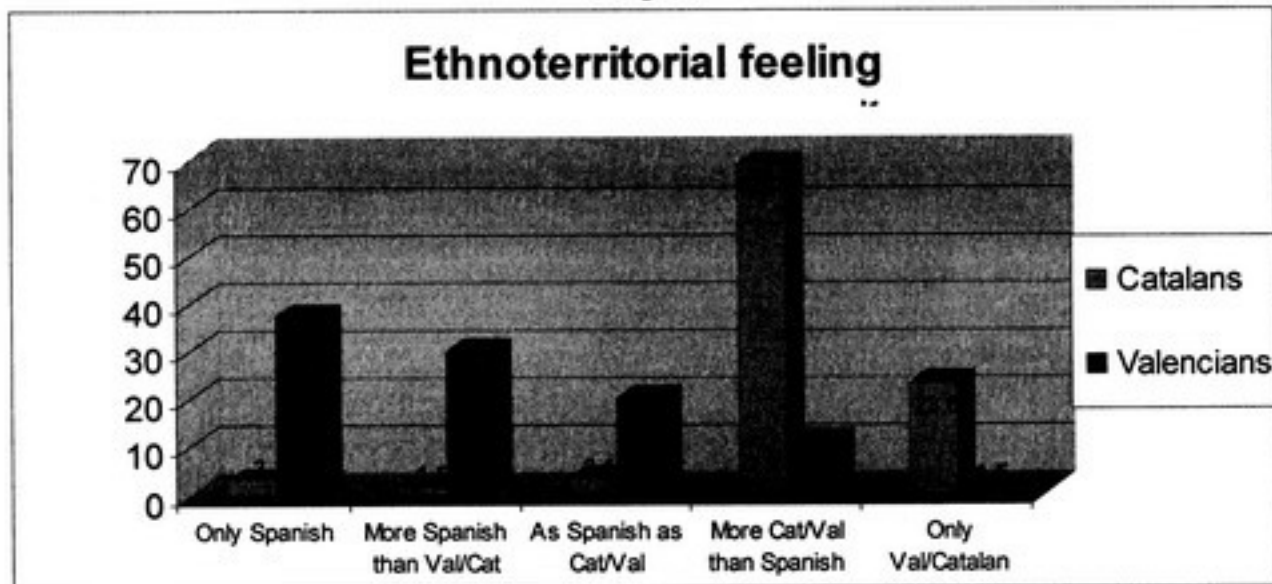
Graph 1



There is a significant difference between the 11.2% in Catalonia who feel “only Catalan” and the 1.4% who feel “only Valencian”. The Valencians specially feel a double ethnoterritorial identity, Spanish and Valencian.

In Buenos Aires the differences are much more remarkable, but this is a tendency which we are going to observe in all the comparisons. In Buenos Aires, the Catalans and the Valencians show much more extreme emotions concerning their identity. Let's observe what graph 2 illustrates:

Graph 2



The differences between Valencians and Catalans in Buenos Aires are much more marked than in Spain. This is clearly seen by comparing the 67.5% of Valencians in Buenos Aires who feel Spanish or more Spanish, if we consider the first two questions together, to the 34.6% of Valencians in Spain. On the other hand in Spain the 37.5% of Catalans feel more Catalan or only Catalan and in Buenos Aires the 92.31% of the Catalans feel like that. The typical answer given by most of the Valencians in Buenos Aires when asked how they feel identified was that first of all they were Spanish and if asked the place of origin they answered Valencia and that is how they feel; whereas almost no Catalan in Buenos Aires would answer when asked his nationality "Spanish". They would directly answer "Catalan"

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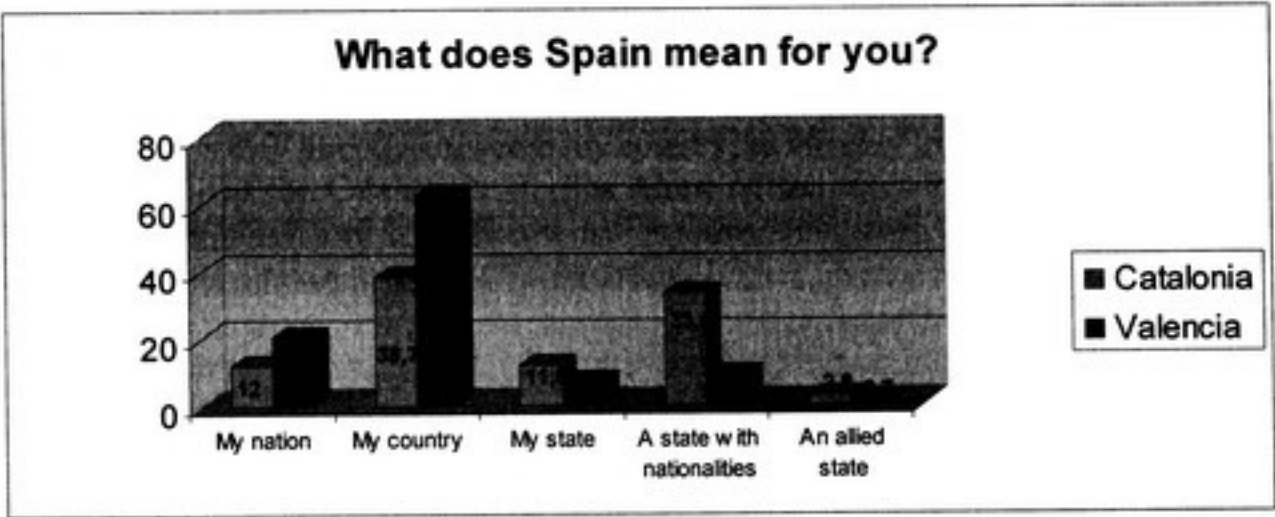
The second question is:

2- What does Spain mean for you?

- a- My country
- b- A nation of which I am a member
- c- A state of which I am a citizen
- d- A state constituted by several nationalities and regions
- e- An allied state, of which my country is not a part of.

This question tries to get information about the level of national commitment to Spain.

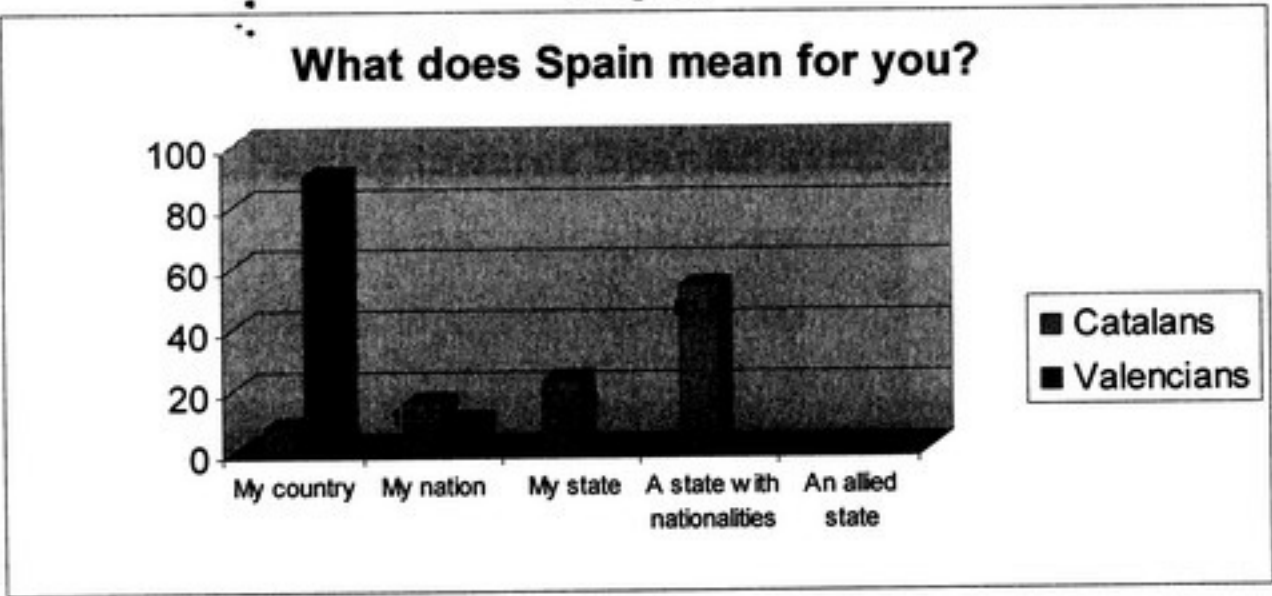
Graph 3



Both in Catalonia and Valencia the most chosen answer is my country, but if we compare the results of the first two questions, we will observe that in Catalonia the 51% of the people surveyed answered that Spain meant their nation or country whereas an 83% of the Valencians chose those options.

In Buenos Aires this is the result

Graph 4



Another extreme answer in this case. The Valencians just answer my country or my nation. Anyway, referring to this we have to mention that most of the Valencians interviewed are old people. This did not happen with the Catalans as we could also interview an important number of young people. Moreover, the Catalans in general had a higher level of education, most of them finished their secondary school and also were university graduates whereas this was not the most common case for the Valencians. With this we want to mean that perhaps not all the interviewees had a clear idea of the concepts of country, nation and state and their differences, therefore when asked the several options they directly answered my country, as the only logical possibility.

The 53.85 of the Catalans in Buenos Aires, on the other hand, answer that Spain meant a State constituted by different nationalities, compared to the 33.6% in Spain, again reflecting a much more marked tendency.

The third question is

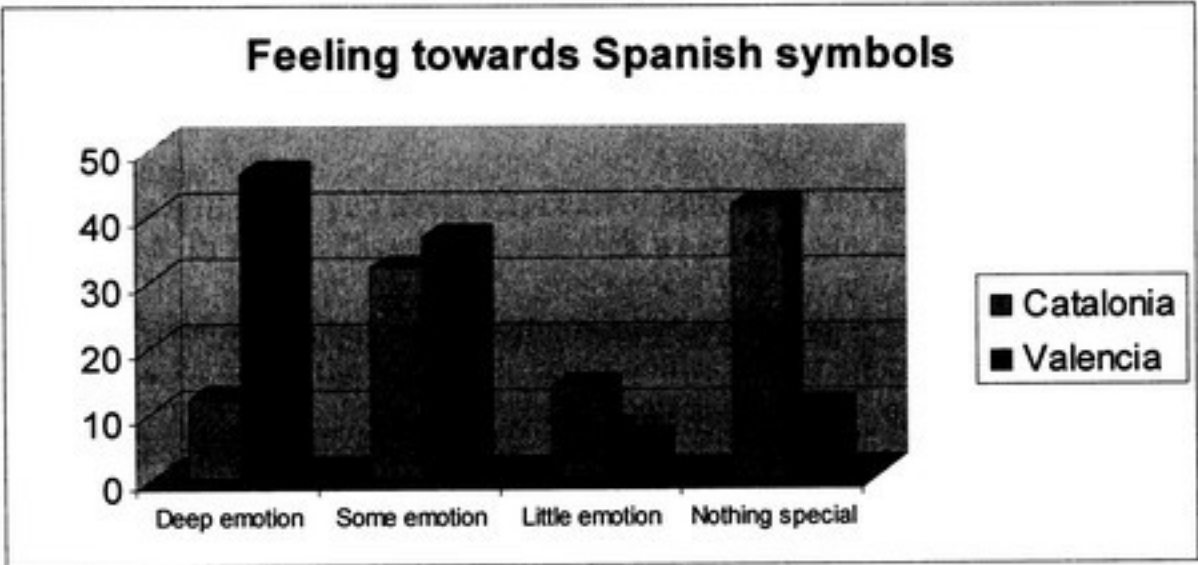
- 3- Which of the following phrases best describes what you feel when you see the Spanish flag or when you listen to the Spanish national anthem?**
- a- I feel a very deep emotion
 - b- I feel some emotion
 - c- I feel little emotion
 - d- I do not feel anything at all

This question focuses on the emotional commitment of the people with the Spanish national symbols.

The result in Spain

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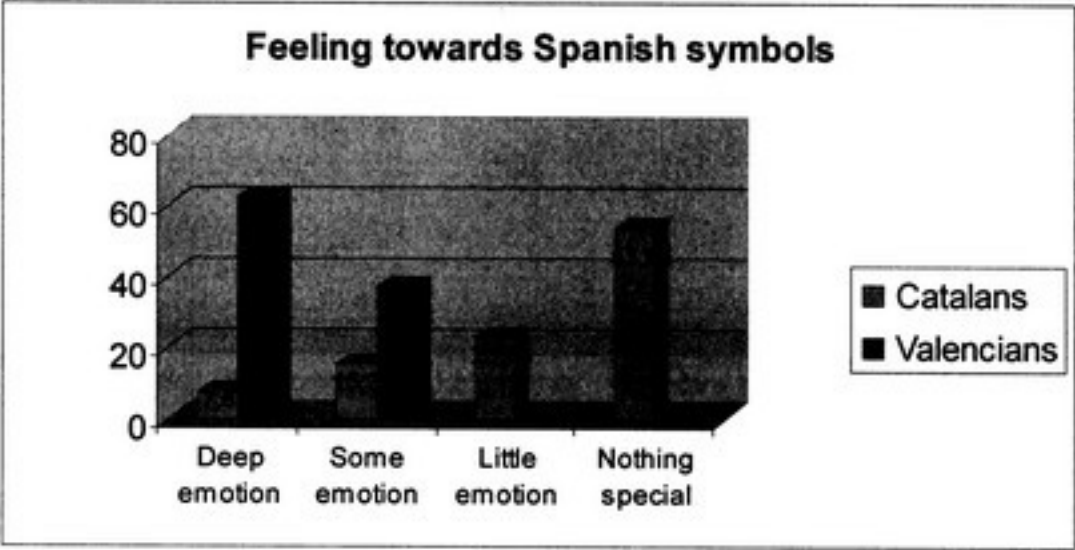
Graph 5



The results here confirm what we have mentioned in the introduction of this chapter. Just a 12% of the Catalans feel a deep emotion towards the Spanish symbols. This means they do not feel those symbols as theirs, in contrast to the 46.5% of the Valencians. In the Valencian community more than the 80% of the population get moved significantly with the Spanish national symbols while the 40% of the Catalans do not feel anything in particular.

In Buenos Aires

Graph 6



Here the difference lies on the percentages, that in Buenos Aires usually go more to the extremes, but the tendency is the same. All the Valencians get moved and feel a deep emotion towards the Spanish symbols. When asked this question, they did not even let us finish reading the last options, they immediately answered a deep emotion and to make it clear they added that they felt like shivers down their spine when they hear the national anthem or see an important ceremony on television. They were doubtless about how to describe it. The Catalans, as it happens in Spain, do not take those symbols as theirs and a 76.93% answer that they do not feel anything in particular.

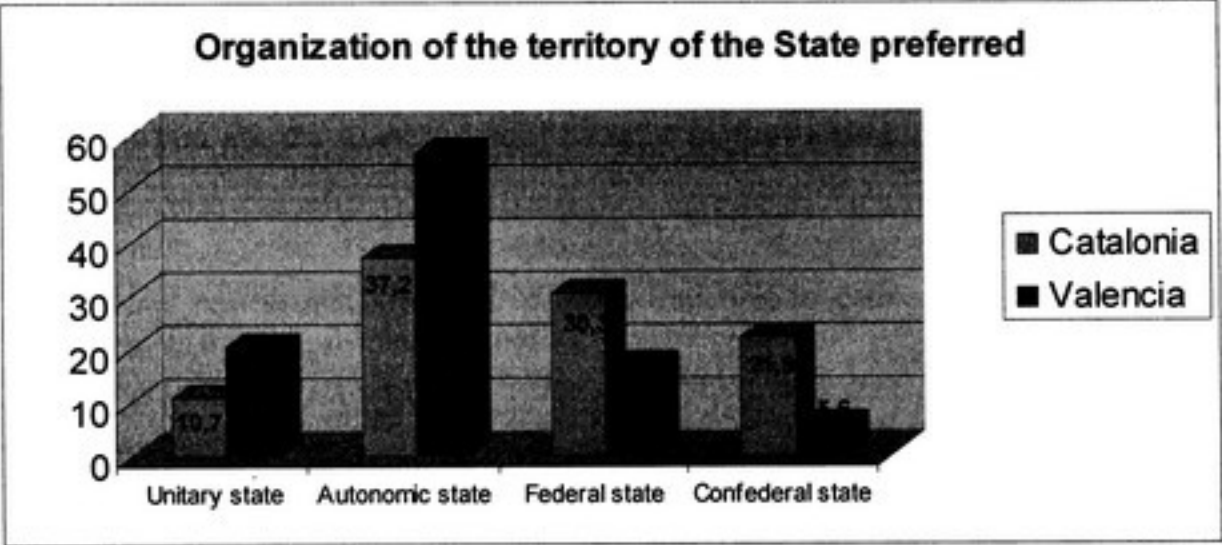
The fourth question is:

- 4- We will show you some alternative options of territorial organization of the state in Spain. Please indicate with which one you agree most:
- a- A state with only one central government without autonomies
 - b- A state with autonomic communities as nowadays
 - c- A state where the autonomic communities have more autonomy than nowadays
 - d- A state where the autonomic communities are offered the possibility of becoming independent states.

This question means to measure the political aspiration of the people as regards the territorial structure of the state and the participation of the autonomous community in it.

The result in Spain

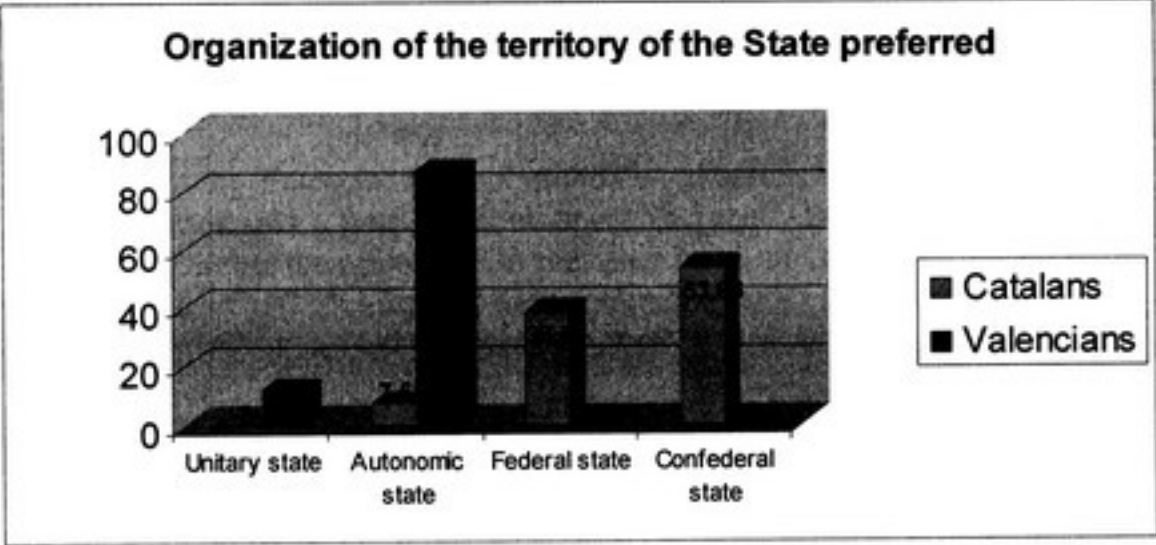
Graph 7



More than a half of the Catalans (52%) feel unsatisfied with the current political model of the state and wish a greater level of self-government whereas more than three quarters of the Valencians (77%) are satisfied and would even like a more centralist political model of the State.

In Buenos Aires

Graph 8



In Buenos Aires, the Valencians are completely satisfied with the current model of the State. They do not mention any need to change it, not even to provide more power to the different autonomies. Their second option was a more centralist political model, but in a distant second place. The Catalans clearly showed their disapproval with the present model of the State and the need to more power to the autonomies but in particular the possibility to become independent states.

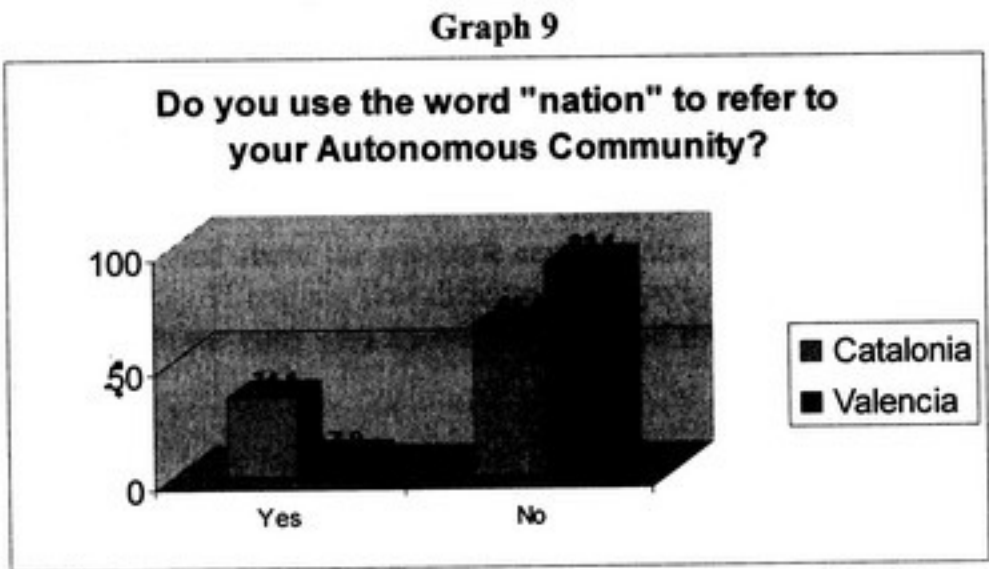
And the last question

5- Do you use the word "nation" to refer to your autonomous community?

- a- Yes
- b- No

The clear and simple intention of this question is to determine whether their own community is a nation for them or not.

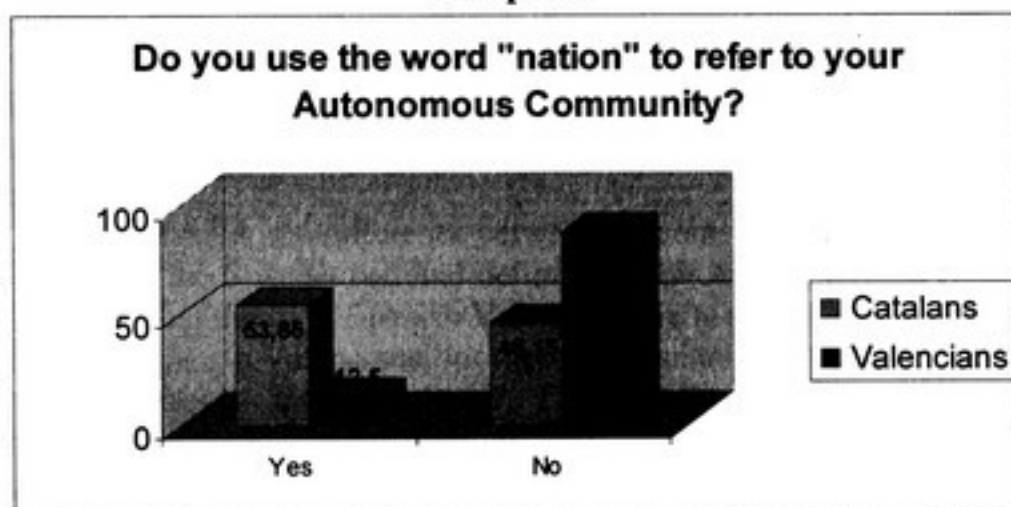
The result in Spain



The 92.1% of the Valencians do not use the word nation to refer to their autonomous community. This shows a neat social evidence that the Valencian community is not a nation, only 7.9% feel the opposite. On the other hand, in Catalonia, a third part of the population surveyed (34.1%) defined their community as a nation.

In Buenos Aires the result was the following

Graph 10



Once again, the tendency is the same but in this opportunity with higher percentages as regards the Catalans. 53.85% of the Catalans answered that they use the word “nation” compared to the 34.1% in Spain. But this is predictable if we consider the answers given in the questions concerning the ethnoterritorial feeling (question one) and the organization of the territory of the state preferred (question four). What could not be predicted was the answers given by the Valencians, that although there is a 87.5% that answered “no” to that question, and as it happens in Spain this shows that the Valencian community is not a nation, the percentage is lower than the one expected if we consider the answers given in questions one and four. However, should we take into account what we have mentioned about the probable certain knowledge of the Valencians of the word “nation”, that could explain that difference. Anyway, by and large, the difference is significant between the ones who answered “yes” and the ones who answered “no”.

∴

On balance, as we have mentioned before, it seems that the distance from their native land deepened the feelings and emotions towards their place of origin. The tendencies between Spain and Buenos Aires are the same, we have not found contrasting feelings but it seems that in Buenos Aires those feelings go to the extremes, they feel everything with passion; therefore the Catalans seem to feel more “Catalans” and the Valencians seem to feel more “Spanish”. And above all, what we could appreciate is that they are not indifferent to their roots, they know what is happening in their land, they are interested in it and they take positions about it, they have their own opinions. All in all, they feel committed to their land and this is what really matters.

After analyzing the main components of the national position, three fundamental concepts have been obtained: the political identity; the cognitive-evaluative and the affective-emotive.

Among these three concepts, the political-identity can have a more explanatory capacity than the other two. The nationalism expresses what "one wants to be"; the cognitive-evaluative provides information about what the national reality "is" and finally we have the emotive factors which indicate what "one would have to be".

According to Castelló, the difference between Catalans and Valencians is situated in the farthest part of the Spanish national definition. This means that the difference does not lie on the fact that the most Spanish Valencians are more Spanish than the Catalans, but that the least Spanish Valencians, (or more Valencianist) are more Spanish than the least Spanish Catalans (or more Catalanist). The most Spanish Catalans and Valencians are very similar, we do not find a difference there.

There are two situations: in the Catalan case there is a conflict between identities: the Catalan and the Spanish. On the other hand, the Valencian case experiments a conflict of identity. The question for the Valencians is the construction of an own identity.

Castelló finally concludes, after defining clearly the concepts of nation, nationalism, collective identity, territory and community among others, which we are not going to include as it is not the main objective of this investigation, that the dumbness of dog (answering the question "Why does the dog not bark in the Valencian community?") is due to the fact that Valencians do not know exactly who they are and the Spanish essence of the state provides them with ontological confidence. The dog does not bark due to their Spanish feelings and not to their "Anticatalan" feelings.

On the whole, we may agree with Castelló or not, but the other question we dare to ask is "Why should the dog bark?" Perhaps it should have barked before, when it was considered absolutely necessary to show the resistance to a system which was completely against their principles. But today, after thirty years of uninterrupted democracy, being Spain a member of the European Community, having its currency "la peseta" been replaced by the European currency, the Euro, having disappeared the frontiers with France and Portugal, we dare to ask this question, "Should the dog bark in the Valencian community?" or "Do you have to get surprised because the dog does not bark?"

Is it not time that the Spanish people had a clearly defined "WE" as Spanish as a whole, considering that nowadays in our rapidly changing times the "THEY" is undoubtedly standing in front of them and is getting more power day after day.

2.3 CONTACT WITH THE LANGUAGE AND CHANGES

To define the situation of the Valencian people living in Buenos Aires with their language we have to go back to the moment of their departure from Spain, in the years '40 and '50's. Because should we say that there is a linguistic conflict, that linguistic conflict already existed when they were in Spain, before coming to Argentina.

Even at that time there was a situation of diglossia in the Valencian language, and we say even then because we have already mentioned in 2.2 that this situation exists nowadays. There was a dominant language, Castilian, of public administrative use, considered high and superior and of prestige; and a politically dominated language, Valencian, considered low, limited to the familiar and rural use and spoken only in informal situations.

This diglossic situation was promoted by the Franquism. Although the use of the Valencian was not prohibited *de iure*, as there was not any law stating that, there was a linguistic repression clearly shown at an ideological level. Castilian had a formal use, for school, church and the writing while Valencian just for the family and the small towns.

It was very common to hear commentaries published in newspapers or mentioned in the radio, "Speak properly. Don't be a barbarian. Speak the official language, Castilian. For Spain and the language of Cervantes!"

That is why, as we have already mentioned before, the Valencian immigrants who came to Argentina could only speak and understand their language but they did not have the writing and reading skills.

Due to all this, we can not say that the assimilation of the Valencian language with Spanish began in Buenos Aires. They arrived in Argentina knowing to speak Valencian and Spanish fluently and having more skills of the Spanish language than of the Valencian, as they had studied it at school. Even though the great majority had Valencian as their first language, as it was the one spoken at home and during their childhood, it is also true that they became bilingual in Valencia, and not here in Buenos Aires.

When we refer to the immigration in general, and to the Valencian immigrants in particular, we must see if there was a complete integration and assimilation to the new society.

As far as the integration is concerned, we have to admit that the Argentine state had the policy of keeping its own identity and respecting that of others. It opened the doors of the country to millions of immigrants of different origins to integrate and become part of the so-called "crucible of races", expression popularly used, conforming each group a specific community group, having the right of keeping and spreading their traditions and customs.

On the other hand, we also have to mention that the Argentine state, as well as other Latinamerican and European states, adopted a migratory policy of assimilation and homogenization. The law considered as Argentine any person who born in the Argentine soil, no matter the nationality of his parents. In the teaching field, the educational authorities put into practice some measures to create a national consciousness. In 1884 it was established the obligatory and free education for everybody, what obviously meant that the immigrants' children had to be taught in Spanish. The creation of several bilingual schools by the different community groups is not the product of a linguistic policy of the state which takes into account the minority languages. On the contrary, the preservation of the culture has always been in charge of the same communities of the immigrants. Anyway, the Valencians have never had a bilingual school with the aim of teaching and spreading their language.

To sum up, the Valencians came to a country whose official language is Castilian, the same as it happened in their own country, and they knew that in the process of assimilation to the new society they had to speak Castilian and continue leaving Valencian to the familiar use.

This is something that they did without any problem because they were used to it. Besides, it was observed that most of the Valencians married to Valencians, so they continued speaking their language at home, and in their free time they went to the Valencian centre "El Micalet" which was attended by other Valencians and Valencian was the language spoken there.

Despite keeping their language at home, we also have to mention that to complete the assimilation to the new society, they understood that it was useless to teach Valencian to their children if they wanted to give them better opportunities for the future. What was the aim of teaching them a language which was not even accepted in their place of origin? Consequently they spoke to them only in Castilian and differing from other communities with another language, the first generation started to lose the language.

The age of the emigration, in general, is quite young. In the first years of the immigration, first the father left the country and once settled here called the rest of the family. But in the last years it was very common that the whole families came together, perhaps due to the fact that they already had other relatives or friends waiting for them here. This situation of having the whole family group together also helped to continue speaking their language, as they were with other Valencian friends or relatives.

The community centres played an important role in the preservation of traditions, their culture and their language. In the '50's there were two Valencian centres, as it was already mentioned, "El Micalet", the first one and the place where the Valencians could gather and speak their language, and "La Falla Valenciana El Turia". Unfortunately, the Valencian immigrants do not attend the centre anymore. You can only see their descendants going there and Spanish is the language spoken, Valencian is not spoken any more, not even in official ceremonies.

Mixture of varieties

We can not be surprised if we see that the Valencian language spoken by the immigrants who arrived in this country fifty years ago has suffered certain changes.

We are going to describe the possible changes that may have affected the Valencian language and if so how they have influenced it.

When we refer to mixture of varieties we mean code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing and attrition. Let's see one by one.

Code switching

It is the inevitable consequence of bilingualism or, more generally, multilingualism. Anyone who speaks more than one language chooses them according to the circumstances, and obviously taking into account that the other person can understand it. In those communities where everybody speaks the same range of languages, the different languages are used in different circumstances and the choice is controlled by social rules. For example, one language is reserved exclusively for use at home and another in the wider community. Because of this linguistic division, each individual has to switch codes, or languages, several times in the course of a day.

This kind of switching is called "situational" code switching because the switches between languages coincide with changes from one situation to another, for example, talking to members of the family or talking to neighbours. The choice of language is controlled by rules, which members of the community learn from their experience, so these rules are part of their total linguistic knowledge.

As regards the Valencian people, we can say that they are used to code switching. In Valencia, they had to choose whether to speak Castilian or Valencian according to the circumstances. At school, in church, in court, in official situations they had to switch to Castilian, as that was the rule. But at home, or with friends they could switch to Valencian, as that was the language preferred in that situation.

In Buenos Aires, the first immigrants continue code switching because as it was explained, they continue speaking Valencian with their friends and their family, but they switch to Castilian even at home to speak to their children and as soon as they leave their house to speak to their neighbours.

Code – mixing

It is the situation in which a fluent bilingual talking to another fluent bilingual changes language without any change at all in the situation. The purpose of code-mixing seems to be to symbolise a somewhat ambiguous situation for which neither language on its own would be quite right. To get the right effect the speakers balance the two languages using a few words of one, and a few words of the other and so on.

With respect to the Valencians, we can observe that they do not code - mix with Valencian when they speak Castilian. But that is not surprising because as we have made reference before, they came to Argentina having the four linguistic skills of Castilian, a complete knowledge of the language. What they code – mix is typically Argentine expressions to their Spanish language. For instance, they continue using the personal pronoun in the singular form “tu” (you singular form) with the correspondent verbal form (as they do in Spain), but perhaps they finish the sentence using the typical Argentine pet word “viste?” at the end of the sentence. Or they code-mix using sometimes “tu” and sometimes “vos” (typical Argentine oral form replacing the personal pronoun “tu”).

We have also observed that the ones who particularly code-mix when they speak Valencian are those people who are married to Argentines and they do not speak Valencian everyday at home, they just do it with friends. We could see in an interview that we had with some Valencian women, that there were two sisters, one married to a Valencian man and the other single. Both were in their seventies and they lived near each other, so they spoke Valencian when they met. All the other women in the interview were married to Valencian men. The interview was held in Valencian and the only one who was unconsciously code-mixing was the single woman, and as they had been asked to speak Valencian, the others were all the time reminding her that it had to be in Valencian, but she did not realise she was doing that. On the other hand, all the other interviewees could have the conversation fluently and without code-mixing at all. What is more, they were constantly correcting this lady when she was not saying something accurately as it sounded strange to them.

It can be appreciated that they did not code-mix in their country and they do not code-mix in Buenos Aires. Furthermore, when they travel to Valencia or when they receive the visit of a Valencian relative or friend who is living there, they are always told that they speak as if they had arrived in Argentina yesterday, keeping the pronunciation, accent and vocabulary as when they arrived. In brief, they speak as they did it in Valencia fifty years ago, and that is something which we will make reference to later.

Borrowing

Borrowing is another way in which languages may become mixed up. While code-switching and code-mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is 'borrowed' from one language to become part of the other language. Nowadays, in particular referring to the language connected with technology, we can see words in the Spanish language borrowed from English, although the Spanish word exists. In Argentina we use the "mouse" although the word "ratón" is used in Spain, and we download the "e-mails" and we surf in the "internet", knowing that we have the translations for those words, but nobody uses the translation, it is an example of "permanent borrowing". Other words borrowed internationally are "karaoke" of Japanese origin, "paella" Spanish word, and "déjà vu" a French term.

As regards the Valencians, there are more examples of "temporary borrowing" than of "permanent borrowing" due to the fact that the speakers not always use the borrowed term. We may provide few examples of borrowing observed, but it is not a permanent situation, because as it has already been mentioned, the Valencians have kept their language. Therefore, while speaking, they may use for the word 'cousin' the Valencian word "cosina" or the Spanish one "prima" or for the word 'bucket', they use "poal" (Valencian) or "balde" (Spanish). But once again we should make it clear that those are isolated cases, and the Valencians we are studying and analyzing, are the first generation who came to Argentina and they have kept their language. Another situation is observed with the first generation born in Buenos Aires. Most of the cases of borrowing were seen in those Valencians who married Argentine people, but the ones who married Valencians kept their language without having important changes.

Attrition

Language attrition can be defined as the non pathological loss of a language in bilingual speakers. As such, it can be seen as a subfield of language contact, but it should be distinguished from other contact phenomena such as language change, shift,

loss and death in bilingual communities: the latter typically take place in bilingual communities across generations, whereas the term "attrition" is used to refer to individual language loss and consequently takes place within one generation. Furthermore, 'attrition' can be defined as loss of the structural aspects of language, i.e. change or reduction in form, while 'shift' is a loss of functional aspects, i.e. the gradual replacement of one language by another with respect to language use in specific situations and settings.

Just as human beings possess a great capacity to acquire a language, they also have a capacity for losing it. Although some individuals have experienced language loss or attrition as a result of a head wound, stroke or other source of brain damage, many more have lost language skills through lack of a linguistically appropriate social environment in which to use them. Instances include: a speaker of a language who lives in an environment in which another language is considered more socially useful, (and that may be the case of the Valencians while living in Spain and now in Buenos Aires); a speaker of a language who moves to a country where a different language is spoken and, as a result, gradually loses his or her first language (this may be partially true with the Valencians, as the other language in the new country is their official language in their native land, but of course the use of their vernacular language is more limited in Buenos Aires than in Spain. It is restricted to the use with their family and friends, and even limited there because they do not speak Valencian to their children); and a student who has learned a second language in school and loses it through lack of opportunity to practice the skills acquired (but this case in particular does not concern us).

Language acquisition and maintenance depend on instructional factors, relation to the way in which the language is initially acquired; cultural factors, relating to the status and usefulness of the language in a particular society; and personality factors, relating to the individual characteristics of the speaker.

Instructional factors:

The differential attrition rate between receptive and productive skills is supported by the various rates of acquisition observed in many individuals. Young children acquiring their first language display rather sophisticated comprehension skills, including understanding of grammatical rules, while their productive skills may be rudimentary at best. Nearly all adult speakers have some measure of receptive control over more than one dialect of their native language.

Students whose instruction has focused primarily on oral skills may show more rapid and extensive attrition than those whose course of study stressed comprehension and writing skills. Unlike spoken language, the written medium allows the reader to decode at his or her own speed and to reexamine parts that may be unclear on a single reading. Indeed, most learners will not experience attrition equally across all skill areas.

As regards the Valencian people, they acquired Valencian as their mother tongue. It was the first language they spoke, and they spoke it at home and with friends. Once they started school, they had no choice but to study Spanish. This means that speaking and listening are the only language skills they could acquire. But we are not talking about a second language that they learnt at school. Valencian is their mother tongue as it is the language acquired in early childhood from parents, and spoken in the home environment. Although writing and reading are more important to preserve the language, Valencians have kept their two language skills and they were enough to keep their language and to provide them with understanding of grammatical rules. They know what is correct and incorrect in Valencian, even though they may not explain why.

Cultural factors

How do public attitudes toward bilingualism and the relative prestige of different languages influence the maintenance of second language skills?

Insight may be gained from situations in which two or more languages come into contact. Such contact may occur for many different reasons, including, for example, changes in political boundaries, industrialization, emigration, and intermarriage. The result of language contact is usually a gradual shift in use from one language to the other. Factors related to the language attrition or even the death of a language or dialect include the number and geographic concentration of speakers, age distribution of speakers, immigration patterns, and speaker literacy in the language involved. In instances in which one language is considered more prestigious than the other, it is unlikely that the less prestigious language would thrive across several generations. Chances of survival are even further reduced when negative attitudes toward bilingualism and strong societal pressures to assimilate are prevalent.

Taking all this into consideration, we can say that the possibilities of survival of the Valencian language in Buenos Aires are at risk, unless a new important and massive Valencian immigration takes place soon, which is very difficult to happen considering the situation in Spain and in Argentina nowadays. Hard as it may sound to say, the Valencian language in Buenos Aires will suffer serious attrition with the first generation, and if conditions do not improve, by encouraging the second generation to study the language and to feel more committed with the Valencian language and culture, this attrition will be immediately followed by its death. The sooner the Valencian descendants realize how serious the situation is, the better.

Personal factors

Motivation is one of the main personal factors to keep a language. To feel motivated to continue speaking the language, to consider it as an element to keep their identity and to feel committed to that culture. That is something clearly present in the Valencian

immigrants. They are proud of being Spanish, Valencians, and they show their constant intention of preserving their language and their customs. To make clear to the Argentine people that they are not Catalans, they are Valencians, and for them it is not the same.

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Implications for foreign language maintenance

Attrition is a powerful force, potentially causing even the most diligent and motivated learner or speaker to lose language skills that took years to acquire. Several techniques should be put into practice to help individuals prevent attrition of their skills. They can travel abroad, self-instruction, and specific uses of cultural resources in their local communities, but mainly they should try to keep the language alive, that is by means of using it. The question is: what will happen when all these old Valencian speakers die? How will a language be kept if it is not used? Once again, we need to emphasize the urge to encourage the learning of the language, to invite and motivate the descendants to feel part of a community. Will this be possible if in the only Valencian centre we have in Buenos Aires, the Valencian language is not spoken?

There is some interesting research about attrition in the immigrant languages carried out by Montoya Abat²¹. In it, Montoya Abat studies attrition in the Catalan language spoken by Mallorcan people in Argentina.

He classifies the speakers in different categories. The first ones are the 'fluent speakers', and are those who acquired the language from their parents and kept it as their first language; then we have the 'former speakers', those who could have been fluent in the past but lost some of their competence due to the lack of use of the language; then the 'semi-speakers', who are those who did not receive the language from their parents but have it as their second language as they acquired it to some extent in the environment where they grew up, and finally the 'rememberers', placed at the bottom of the chart as they are just able to articulate some phrases or words. These could also be defined as semi-bilinguals or passive bilinguals.

Needless to say, that in the last categories of speakers, Montoya Abat has found examples of code-switching, code-mixing and attrition. But in the last categories. The main difference we have found with the Valencian speakers is that the first generation born in Buenos Aires can never be considered as either 'fluent speakers' or 'former speakers'. The first generation can be considered as 'semi-speakers', as they acquired it as they listened to it at home but were never asked to say a word in the Valencian language, and unfortunately the second generation, that is to say, the Valencians' grandchildren, can be described as 'rememberers', just able to articulate some words, songs or phrases repeated by heart.

²¹ Brauli MONTOLYA ABAT, *La atrofia de las lenguas inmigradas. El caso del catalán de los mallorquines en la Argentina*, Alicante, Universitat d'Alacant, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003, pgs. 95-108.

In conclusion, the process of attrition in the Valencian language is starting very quickly. Compared to the Mallorcan people, two generations have been skipped and we turned from the native speakers to semi-speakers and from there to rememberers. This must be taken into consideration, but we have to do it now as time is playing against us.

All things considered, we have analyzed the relationship that the Valencians have had with their vernacular language since they were living in Spain, and the existing diglossia with the Spanish language. We have also mentioned the possible mixture of varieties that the language could experiment, such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing and attrition. And last but not least, we have made reference to the possibility of the loss of the Valencian language in Buenos Aires. A loss which is suffering a quick process, first because the greatest number of native speakers are old people, there is no possible Valencian immigration coming to Argentina, at least on a permanent basis, and this means that we have to rely on the language of the descendants for the transmission. On the other hand, there is no promotion of the Valencian culture and language by the centres existing in Buenos Aires. And this is something that should be imitated from the Catalan centres. They encourage people to study the language, there are permanent workshops, lecturers invited, competitions organized to gather the descendants. The e-mails they send you are written in Catalan, their web-page has the option: Spanish or Catalan, to sum up, their language is Catalan, even for the descendants.

We do not mean to blame the Valencians for not transmitting the language to their children. They did what they thought was the best for them and for their future in Argentina. What we try to do is to draw the attention and show how the situation is nowadays. We still have some native speakers with us, and their children, now grown-ups, may not speak the language fluently but they understand it, perhaps most of them can read it and the most important thing of all is that they are committed to the Valencian culture. We have to profit that situation and invite them to be part of this community, a community that we do not have to let it disappear.

2.4 THE VALENCIAN LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN BUENOS AIRES AND IN THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY

In this part we will compare the differences and similarities we may find between the Valencian language in use in Buenos Aires and in the Valencian Community. As we have already made reference, the Valencian people living in Buenos Aires have managed to keep their language alive, with the same intonation and accent, avoiding interferences and code-mixing. However, we do not have to forget that the language they are still speaking is the language they spoke fifty years ago in Valencia. They have kept it but they have not changed it either. And as we can imagine, the Valencian language in the Valencian community has suffered many changes and influences because it is a living language.

One of the main discussions and problems they are facing in the Valencian community is to stop the influence of Castilian on the Valencian language. Two factors make this influence be so important. To start with, they are neighbouring languages; as a consequence the influence is unavoidable. There are certain places in the Valencian community where Valencian is not spoken practically anymore and Castilian has replaced it. For instance, in the city of Alicante. There is a very interesting book written by Brauli Montoya Abat²² in which he explains the social process through which Valencian turned to be a language spoken by the minorities in Alicante. By means of interviews he lets speakers tell their familiar linguistic stories and give the reasons why their parents or even themselves stopped transmitting the language to their descendents.

Not only is Castilian a neighbouring language, but it is the official language of the country as well and this intensifies even more the development of this language on Valencian.

²² Brauli, MONTOYA ABAT, *Alacant: La llengua interrompuda*, València, Denes, 1996.

On the other hand there is the Catalan language, another neighbouring language and another controversial point among Valencians. We have already mentioned that the unity of the language between Valencian and Catalan has been decided but this decision has not been fully accepted by all the Valencian people.

We have prepared a survey consisting of five questions which were asked to the Valencians in Spain and in Buenos Aires and this will let us draw more clearly the differences between the language and in particular the differences between the attitude towards the language in both places.

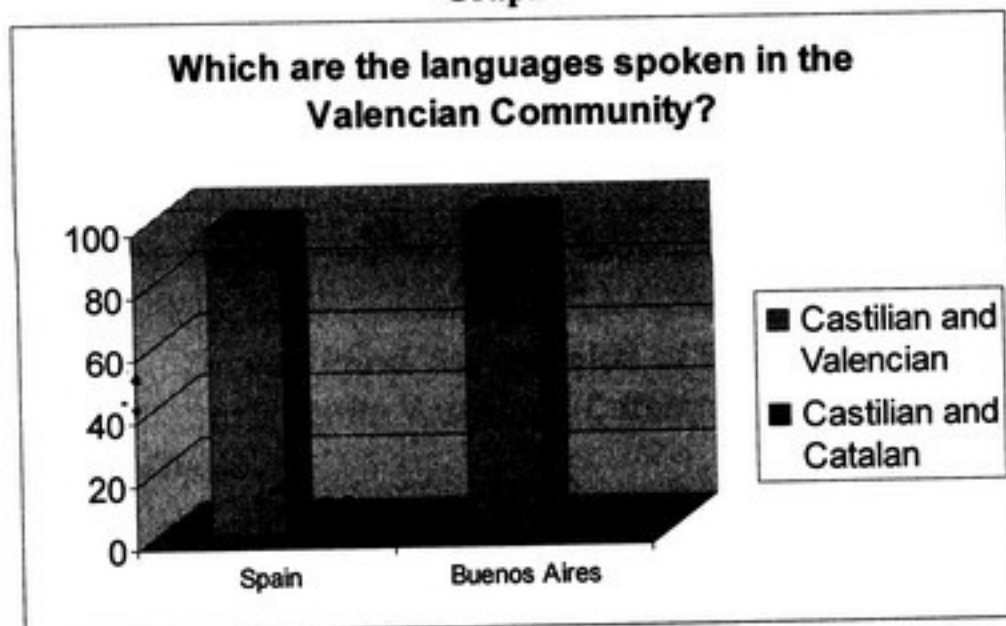
The first question is:

1- Which are the languages spoken in the Valencian Community?

This question seems to be very simple and obvious but the aim of it is to see whether they use the name Valencian or Catalan to refer to their language and it is going to be related to question number four.

The result was the following:

Graph 1



As we can observe there is almost no difference between the answers given by the Valencians living in Spain (97.4%) and the Valencians living in Buenos Aires (100%) calling their language Valencian. In the question there were no options, they had to name the languages. We were not surprised to see the 100% of the Valencians in Buenos Aires answering Valencian as no Valencian here has ever called his language

Catalan. Moreover, when asked in the street if they spoke Catalan or they were Catalan, they simply made it clear that they were not, or that their language was Valencian, different from Catalan. But we were really surprised to see the results in Spain, as we know that at universities in the Valencian Community (for example the University of Valencia and the University of Alicante) they call the language Catalan and the Professors are Catalan philologists. We asked the professors from the university about the name given to the language and they claimed that there was no doubt that the language was Catalan and that was the name given by the university students and professors. It was called Valencian perhaps at the primary schools, by some parents and by old people, but that was all. Nevertheless, our survey was done to a wide range of people, such as university students, secondary school students, professionals, employees, retired people in similar percentages and that was the result. It means that people continue calling their language Valencian.

The second question:

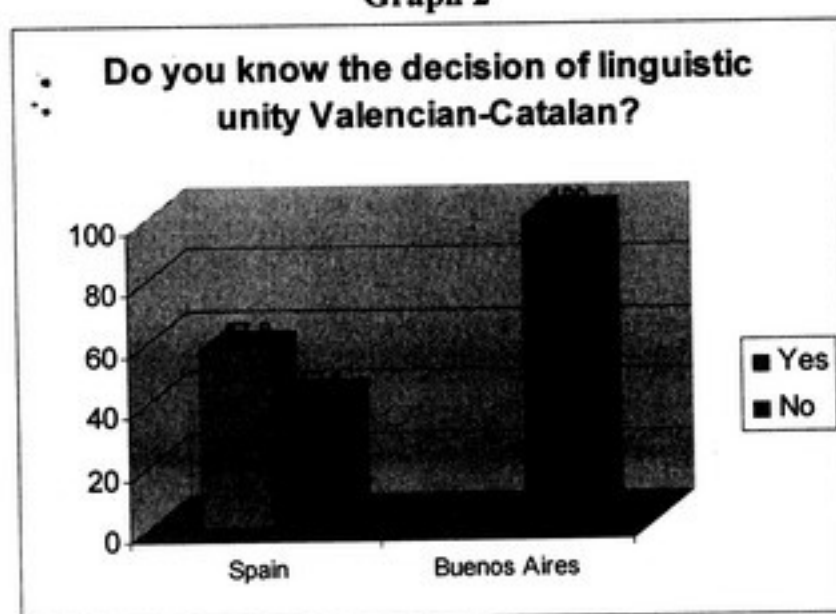
2- Do you know the decision of linguistic unity between Valencian and Catalan?

a- Yes

b- No

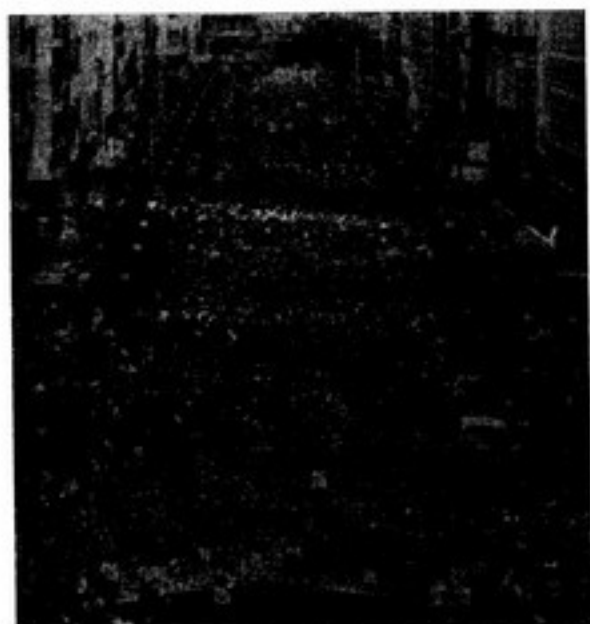
We have explained before that the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) decided on 5th February 2005 to announce officially the unity of the language. This decision was made public and arose different reactions. Let's see how many of the people surveyed know about it.

Graph 2

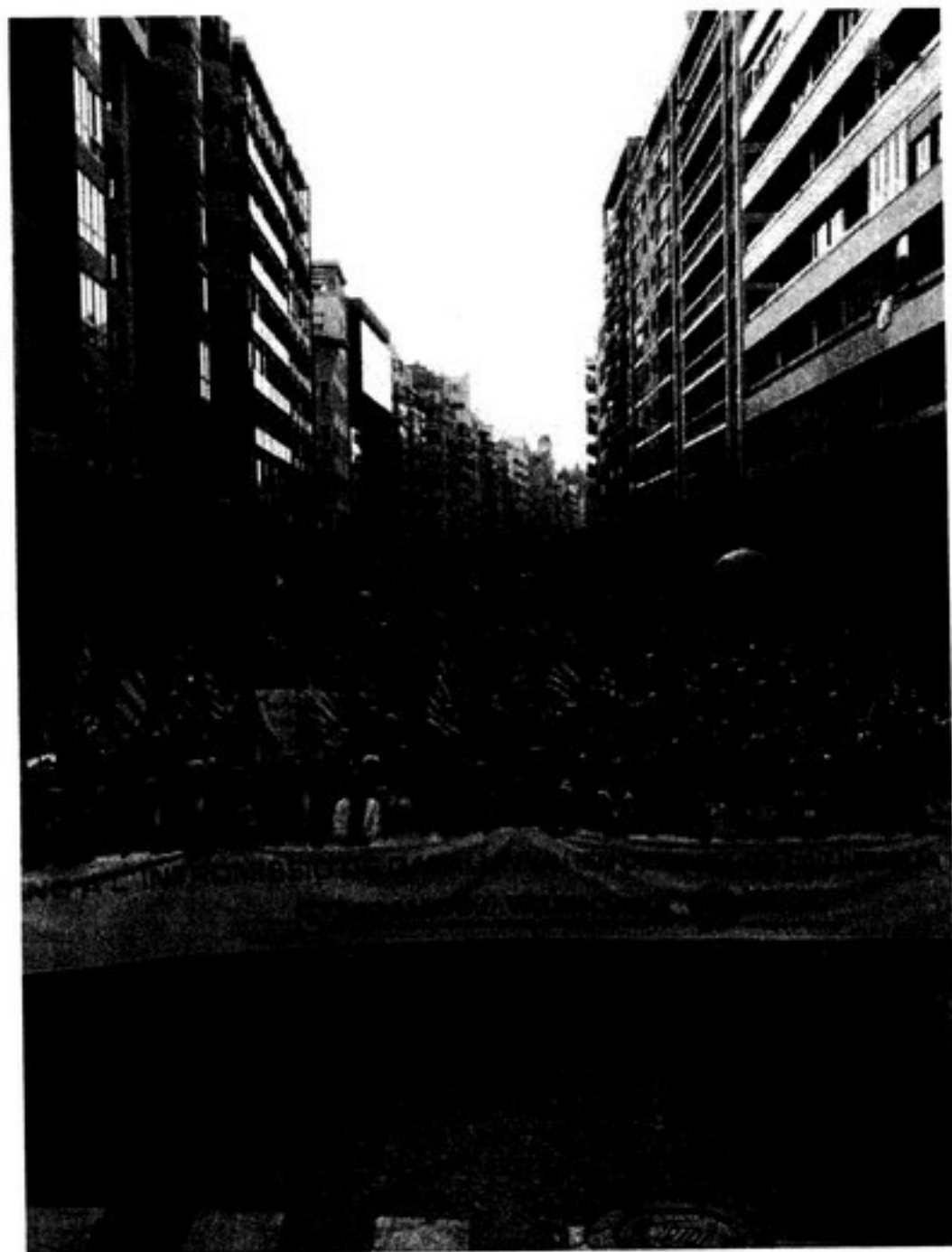


In general, the Valencians living in Buenos Aires are completely ignorant about that decision. But in Spain even though we have an important percentage of people who know about it (57.9%), in fact more people know about it than do not, we expected this percentage to be even higher because firstly we are talking about their language and secondly many demonstrations were held in the street against this decision. It was so controversial because other factors, such as political interests, were involved in it. Just to have an idea of how the decision of the unity of the language was received by some groups of the Valencian society we can see these photographs that explain it more clearly than words. These demonstrations were held in the streets of the city of Valencia.





(we can see written in the background, on the stage, asking for the dissolution of the official institution, the AVL, The Valencian Academy of the Language, and claiming for the Valencian language)



(this photograph allows us to have a clear picture of the dimension and importance of the demonstration held in the streets of Valencia. We can read "no to the intrusion of Catalonia. In defense of the language")



The third question is:

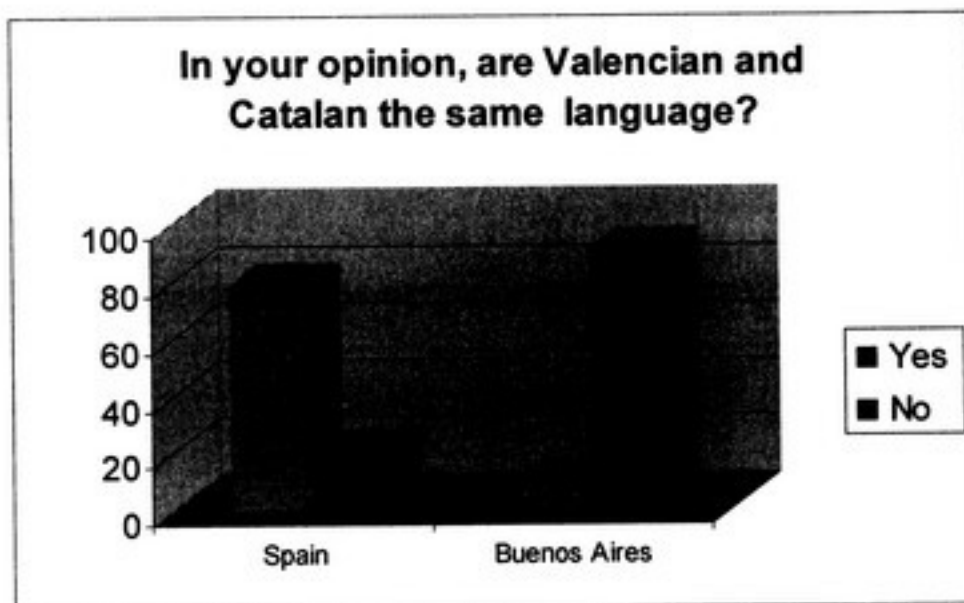
3- In your opinion, are Valencian and Catalan the same language?

a- Yes

b- No

This question has the intention to determine the linguistic opinion the Valencians have, independently from the official decision concerning the language.
The result is the following:

Graph 3

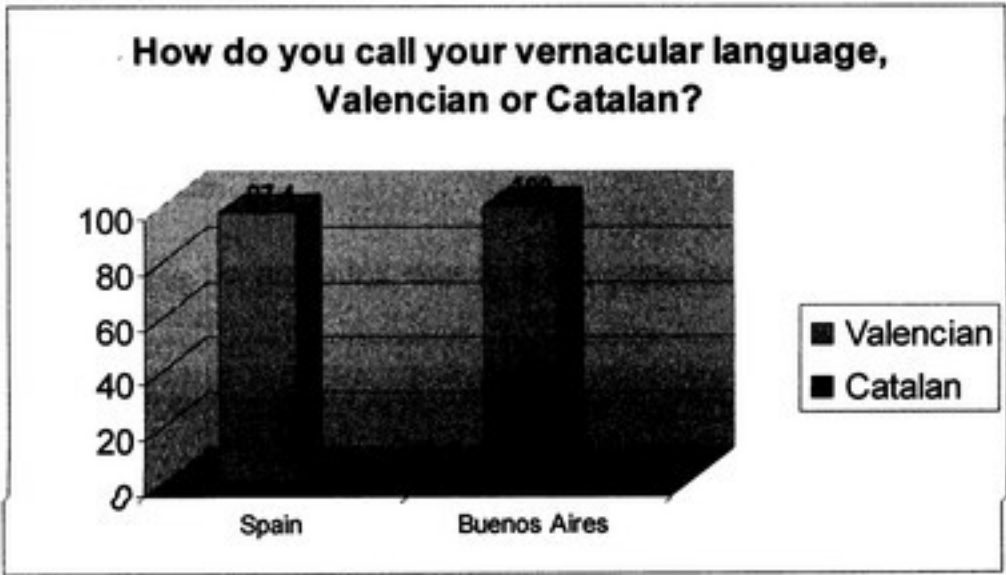


We can appreciate a substantial difference as regards their opinion of the language. Almost 79% of the Valencians living in Spain answered that for them Valencian and Catalan are the same language and it goes beyond the knowledge of the official decision of the unity of the language as only 57.90% of the Valencians in Spain know about it. This means that they believe in the linguistic unity regardless the official decision. Whereas 91% of the Valencians living in Buenos Aires answered that for them they were different languages, once again claiming the independence of their language.

The fourth question is:
4- How do you call your vernacular language?
a- Valencian
b- Catalan

This question is evidently associated and connected with question number one, and after seeing the results of graph number four we are going to discuss the relationship among all the questions.

Graph 4



As it happened in question number one, we can see that both the Valencians living in Buenos Aires and the ones living in Spain call their language Valencian, no matter whether they know about the official decision of the unity of the language or whether they believe or not that their language is the same as Catalan.

Having all this information, we can obtain the following percentages which are interesting to take into account for further analysis concerning the Valencians living in Spain.

Among all the Valencians living in Spain who know the decision concerning the unity of the language:

- a- 78,95% believe that it is the same language as Catalan but call it Valencian.
- b- 5,25% believe that it is the same language as Catalan and call it Catalan.
- c- 15,80% do not believe that it is the same language and call it Valencian.

Among those Valencians living in Spain who do not know the decision concerning the unity of the language:

- a- 72,23% think that it is the same language as Catalan but call it Valencian.
- b- 27,77% do not think that it is the same language as Catalan and call it Valencian.
- c- Nobody who thinks that it is the same language calls it Catalan.

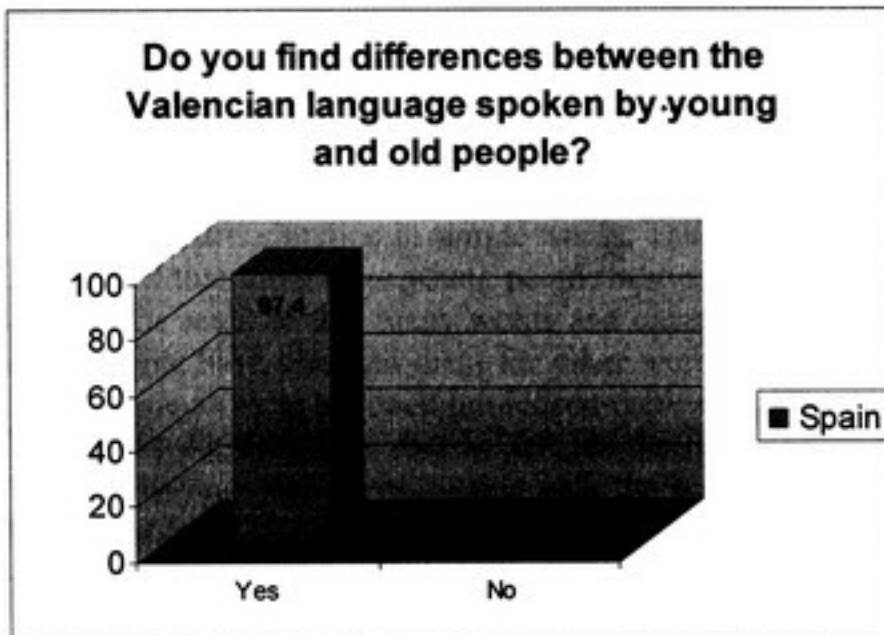
These percentages are just summing up what we have been mentioning. The Valencians living in Spain prefer to call their language Valencian, although most of them think that their language is the same as the Catalan language, and many of them think this without even knowing that there is an official decision stating that.

The fifth question is:

6- Do you find differences between the Valencian language spoken by younger people and the language spoken by older people?

- a- Yes
- b- No

Graph 5



This question was asked to the Valencian people living in Spain and to those Valencians living in Buenos Aires who frequently travel to Valencia and therefore have the possibility of observing any difference in the language.

The aim of this question is to determine if the teaching of Valencian at schools and at universities has led to a gap between the so-called 'traditional Valencian' and the 'standard or cultivated Valencian'

The graph clearly shows that most of the people interviewed think that there is a difference between their way of speaking and they claim that it is due to the fact that the Valencian language spoken by the young people is richer, more cultivated and more grammatically correct as they have learnt it at school. The language spoken by the older people is the one spoken in the small towns, the language they learnt at home or in the streets but never at school. In brief, the language spoken by the young people is language that should be spoken, the correct one. The other may be considered as the 'low language' or as they define it the 'popular Valencian'.

Strange as it may seem, once again we can appreciate a situation of diglossia but in this case within the same language, not with two languages as it usually happens. With respect to the same Valencian language, the one spoken by the young people is considered the 'high' version of the language and the 'traditional Valencian' or the one spoken by the older people is regarded as the 'low' but always talking about the same language.

The main difference we can observe is that what they call the language of the small towns are typically Valencians expressions and vocabulary and what the young people learn at schools and at university is Catalan. Whether they are the same language or not is a point of discussion that we will leave for the Valencian and Catalan philologist, but there are certain differences between them, and there is the answer to this question.

There is a book by Eugeni Reig²³ whose translation may be "Valencian in danger of extinction" which defines this situation in simple words. The author decided to write his book when he observed that there were young people who spoke differently to his way of speaking. In brief, he realized that many words and expressions that he was used to saying, the young people have changed them for other words. With no doubt that was the final reason to decide to write his book but indeed there were other reasons previous to that one. And it was the deep love that he felt for the language that the Valencian people speak. For many years that identification with the popular Valencian led him to take down notes of words, expressions and constructions that he observed present in the living Valencian. By comparing all this with the lexicon from the XVIII, XIX and XX centuries he came to the conclusion that many other scholars had already come to before: that the Valencians have very well kept their language during those three centuries and up to now.

He claims that a 'cultivated Valencian' must have certain characteristics, such as: that an important part of the Valencian society can feel identified with the linguistic model proposed and that it can assimilate all those things that together made possible to overcome the most important difficulty when referring to the rules: to come to the streets. In fact, a rule is only successful when people use it in their everyday lives.

He believes that all those words, phrases and expressions that he is collecting in his work belong to the traditional Valencian, and that fortunately even today we can hear them in the streets and places in their towns and cities, full of vitality and richness. He considers that all those words and expressions may and must be part of the cultivated language.

He thinks that the main reason for the degradation of the language is due to the fact that the Valencians do not consider their language as a piece of jewellery inherited by their ancestors, as an appreciated piece of jewellery that has passed from one generation to the other for more than seven hundred years. On the contrary, they consider their language as a pair of old hemp sandals worn at home, and that they feel ashamed to show them to those who do not belong to the family.

²³ Eugeni, S. REIG, *Valencià en perill d'extinció*, València, ed. a cargo del autor, 2005.

As a result of feeling so little identified with the Valencian language, two kinds of linguistic changes have taken place. The first and most decisive is to replace traditional Valencian words by Castilian words; the second is to replace traditional Valencian words by their equivalents corresponding to the Catalan cultivated language.

With reference to the Castilian language, he definitely explains that we should avoid using Castilian words when we have their equivalent in Valencian and that besides those Valencian words have been used for a long time and now people tend to replace them. Nevertheless, we should be careful and avoid omitting all those words of Castilian origin just because they are Castilian and not considering that they do belong to the Valencian language and have been part of it for centuries. In Valencian there are words of Castilian origin as there are words of other origins, as Arabic, Aragonese and all of them are Valencian. They have been part of the Valencian way of speaking for centuries. We must not avoid using words so genuinely Valencian, such as : *almorzar*, *caldo*, *mentira* or *rabo* just because they are identical to the Castilian words. That only leads to impoverish the language.

As regards the Catalan language, we can say that many traditional Valencian words have been replaced by their equivalent words of the Catalan cultivated language. Reig confirms that the introduction of the Valencian language in schools and the media has in general been very positive, but it has also complicated the linguistic scope of the language as at schools they only teach the standard language, and with that we mean Catalan, leaving aside all the traditional Valencian forms. That is the reason why the younger people ignore or consider incorrect many traditional Valencian expressions used by the older ones.

In Reig's view, the Valencians have transmitted for over eight hundred years, from parents to children, a set of words, expressions, idioms, phrases and sayings which reflect their idiosyncrasy, and which let them express their way of considering the world. There is a wide range of words which are genuinely Valencian, many of Arabic, Mosarabic and Aragonese origin, which have been part of the language for ages, and now the young people are losing because the 'standard language' that they use at school (or even called the 'cultivated language') or in the media is leaving those words which constitute the traditional Valencian lexicon aside. For example, the Valencians have never said *aviat* (soon), they have always said *prompte* or *enjorn*; they have used neither *endavant* (ahead, forward) nor *endarrere* (backwards) but *avant* and *arrere*; they have never said *feina* (work) but *faena*. But these words are replacing the traditional Valencian words.

Owing to the little identification between the cultivated language and the traditional Valencian, Reig minimizes the linguistic benefits that the school and the media have

caused during the last decades. To his way of thinking, there are many people who feel very pleased because the school and the media have managed to make the population, in particular the youngest generations, change '*adiós*' (goodbye) to '*adéu*', '*hasta*' (until) to '*fins*', '*entonces*' (then) to '*aleshores*', '*rato*' (time) to '*estona*' or because they pronounce '*teulada*' (roof) instead of '*teulà*'. But all these changes, in his opinion, that so many people consider so important are indeed irrelevant, of no significance at all. Those words may be changed today or in one hundred years' time with no problem.

All things considered, we can say that indeed the Valencian language spoken in Spain is suffering certain changes. Firstly, because of the influence of the Castilian language, which not only is a neighbouring language but it is also the official language of the country and that leads to a permanent pressure and constant influence.

Furthermore, we have Catalan, a new important presence. The introduction of Valencian at schools has represented the introduction of Catalan in the Valencian language. Whether they are the same language or not is not an issue we are discussing here, but there are differences between them, and the introduction of Catalan, accepting it as the 'standard language' and therefore the 'cultivated language' has meant leaving aside vocabulary and expressions proper to the traditional Valencian language.

The fact of the matter is that not only do the youngest generations ignore expressions and words which belong to their own Valencian language, but that they consider them 'lower' in hierarchy or popular. As a result of this, they are neither interested nor eager to learn them. To put it simply, the Catalan language is replacing the Valencian language in Spain.

On the other hand, this situation has not been observed in Buenos Aires. It was clearly seen in the graphs which show that the Valencian language in Buenos Aires has not been influenced by the Catalan. What is more, the Valencians living here do not accept the unity of the language and do not accept any similarity at all. They have never mentioned the name Catalan to refer to their language. Their language is only one, the one that they speak and it is simply called 'Valencian', no additional names are necessary such as 'cultivated' or 'traditional'.

We may wonder how it is possible that they have kept their language as they spoke it fifty years ago. It is very simple. We just have to remember what Reig said about the Valencians and their language in Spain. They have kept it for centuries. That is the

'traditional Valencian' or let's call it by its real name, that is the 'real Valencian' and that is the language that it is spoken in Buenos Aires. You may come to two conclusions as regards the same situation: either that the language in Buenos Aires has not experimented any changes and consequently has not developed at all or that the language has fortunately kept its roots and writers like Reig will be very pleased to listen to these people speak 'Valencian'.

2.5 KEEPING THE CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

As far as the linguistic identity is concerned, we have already analyzed how the Valencian immigrants have managed to keep their language although they only had two of the four language skills, they only spoke it and understand it. Little could they do regarding the transmission of the language and that resulted in having the first generation born in Buenos Aires with only one language skill fully developed, and it is the listening skill. They can speak the language but with difficulties, thinking word by word, far from being fluent, and some of them can even read it, and that is all.

Concerning the second generation born in Buenos Aires, they do not have any language skill fully developed. They can understand some phrases, songs, words and some of them some conversations, but definitely they do not speak it or write it and may be few of them can read it.

This lack of transmission to the first generation may be the cause of a necessity to become part of the new society. We do not have to forget that these immigrants came to Argentina with the idea of a permanent settlement in this country, so they could not find the need of transmitting a language that even in Valencia was not considered acceptable. To speak Spanish and not to confuse their children was what they thought was the best thing to do and it is understandable.

With reference to the cultural identity many things have been done to keep it alive, by the immigrants themselves and nowadays by their descendants too.

The Valencians continue having their community centre in Buenos Aires, the "Falla Valenciana El Turia" that even though it is not very much attended by the Valencians themselves, some descendants visit it and they gather for special celebrations.

But we have already mentioned the Valencian centre. What we are interested now is in describing how the Valencians and their children keep and continue spreading the Valencian celebrations, customs and traditions in Buenos Aires.

When the Valencians in Buenos Aires were asked about the festivities they continue celebrating or remembering here, all of them answered that there were two that no Valencian here has ever forgotten. And they are St. Joseph, on 19th March, and our Lady of the Abandoned (Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados) the second Sunday of May. Not only the immigrants remember them and light a candle, go to church or prepare a special meal commemorating them; so do their children and grandchildren. Who, born in a Valencian home, has not tried the famous pumkin doughnuts (buñuelos de calabaza) for St. Joseph? Who does not remember a prayer to the Lady of the Abandoned? They are present in all the Valencian homes.

Our Lady of the Abandoned



In the Valencian centre 'El Turia' this event is celebrated by first going to church, then they offer the flowers to the Virgin and finally they meet in the centre to eat a tasty paella. Unfortunately not all the Valencians know about this event or directly do not attend it in part because of the uncomfortable location of the centre and partly to the little communication existing between the Valencians and the centre.

For St. Joseph we have the festivities of the famous and popular Valencian 'fallas' which are considered of international touristic interest.



In this photograph we can see the 'falleros' offering flowers to the Lady of the Abandoned for the festivity of the 'Fallas' in Valencia.

Nowadays in Buenos Aires the 'fallas' are not celebrated anymore for different reasons, economic, permissions, lack of space etc. The last one was held in 1992 in Puerto Madero but not for St. Joseph in March but as the closing event for the Commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, in the month of October and organized by the Federation of Spanish Associations.

Here we can see examples of the 'ninots' that were planted this year in Valencia.



The traditional Valencian food is transmitted, with no doubt, from generation to generation. The Valencian women have cooked and have taught to cook the delicious dishes that represent the Valencian cuisine. Nowadays the daughters, daughters –in-law and granddaughters know how to cook a *paella*, *arròs al forn*” or “*arròs a banda*”.

Let's see some of the most typical Valencian dishes still prepared here in Buenos Aires by the descendants:

The *paella*. The dish is not only known here in Buenos Aires by the Valencians and their descendants but by everyone. It is present in all the menus of the Spanish and international restaurants, and even there are many restaurants that just specialize in this dish. The paella has been for the Valencians as the '*asado*' for the Argentine people and nowadays in the descendants' homes, when they meet with relatives or with friends the typical menu may be the Argentine '*asado*' or the Valencian '*paella*'.

We can see some photographs that show members of the same family at different moments of their lives, enjoying a paella with friends and relatives. This clearly demonstrates how the paella and its ritual has been transmitted from one generation to the other. Moreover we can see the same attitude of the people in the three photographs, all around the paella.



In this photo we can see the writer's parents when they were not yet married around a paella with some friends. It was taken in the Valencian centre 'El Micalet' in 1953.



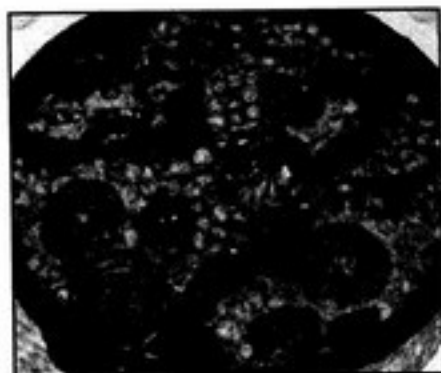
This picture shows the writer's father with some friends in 'El Micalet' in 1953.



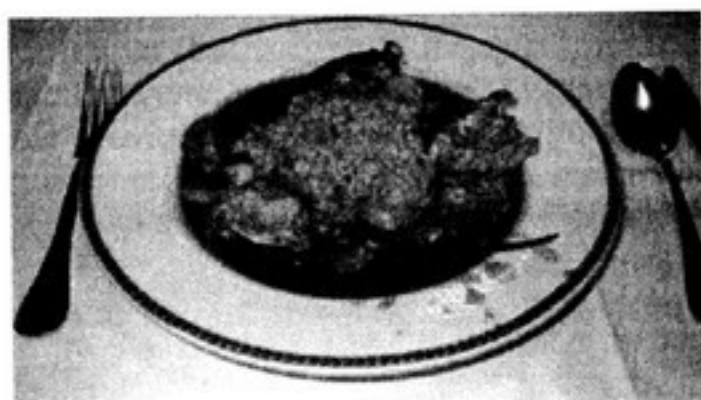
This photograph was taken fifty years later, in 2003 and it shows the writer with her family, her mother and some friends at home.

There are other dishes which are not so well-known in Buenos Aires and not known at all in the restaurants but are common in the Valencians' and their descendants' homes. For example we can mention:

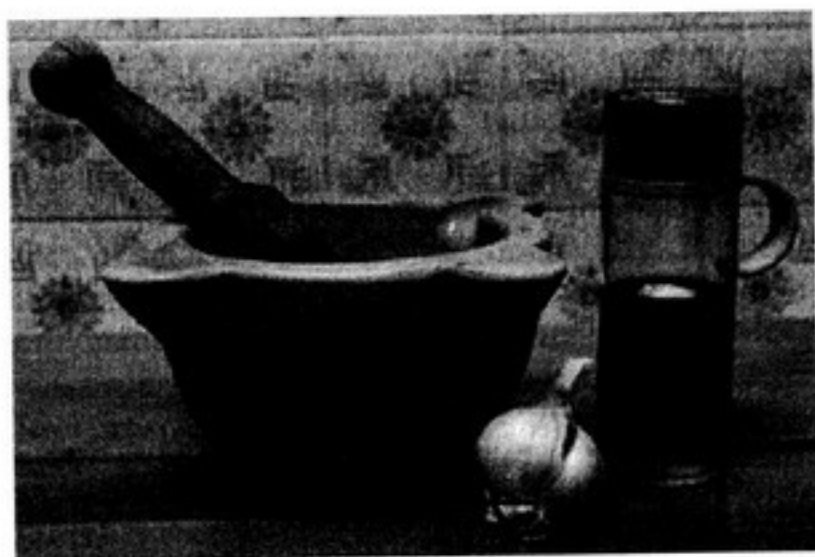
Arròs al forn (rice in the oven)



Arròs amb fesols i naps (rice with kidney bean and turnip)



All i oli (garlic and oil) to accompany all the kinds of rice that you prefer



We also have the *arrós a banda*, which is prepared with fish broth, the pumpkin doughnuts, which we have mentioned are eaten specially for St. Joseph, and many other dishes, customs and traditions that are called by their Valencian name. Therefore it is very common to listen to a small child asking his mother or grandmother to prepare *arrós al forn* or *arrós a banda*.

As far as music, dancing and Valencian clothes is concerned, the Valencian centre 'El Turia' counts with a folk group for adults and another for children. Nevertheless, we think that the Valencian music should be more widely spread. In Buenos Aires there are a lot of dancing academies which many people attend to learn Spanish dances. But when we refer to Spanish dances we just mean Galician and Andalusian dances, which are very popular in Buenos Aires, but we can find no place besides the Valencian centre to learn Valencian dances.

In regard to the Valencian literature, it is mainly known because of Vicente Blasco Ibañez, a person who was loved and is remembered by all the Argentine people.

Blasco Ibañez came to Argentina and had the intention of establishing a colony in the Patagonia where he wanted to grow rice. He founded two colonies: "Valencia" in the province of Corrientes, in the northeast of Argentina, and "Cervantes" in the High Valley of Río Negro, in the most septentrional part of the Patagonia. These projects were not successful. But Blasco Ibañez is mainly remembered because of his books, his work, widely read and studied by the Argentine people.

Nowadays the media, in particular the internet, makes possible to know and at the same time promote different cultural activities. We can watch the Spanish television channel (TVE), the Galician channel and at certain times and days the Basque channel and that is all. No Valencian channel so far. Anyway we have to understand that the Galician and the Basque communities are far more numerous than the Valencian community settled in Buenos Aires.

On the whole, many things have been done to keep and spread the Valencian linguistic and cultural identity, but we have to be conscious that this is not enough. The Valencian immigrants are old people. The new Spanish immigration we are having is just on a temporary basis and due to the Spanish companies which are settled here. But they are not coming to stay permanently. Hence, we have to intensify the ways of transmitting this culture. It is in our hands and we do not have to let it disappear with our immigrant parents or grandparents. The Valencian culture is in the heart of the descendants and if it is in the heart it means that there is love to give. Let's transmit that love that we have for our roots before it is too late.

CONCLUSION

Many reasons may be enumerated to describe why a person decides to leave his place of origin to settle down in a complete strange country. We may say that there are economic, social, political and psychological reasons that lead a person to take that decision; a decision which means to leave all their beloved relatives and friends, to get used to a completely new culture, and sometimes to a new language, to start eating different food, having strange smells, laughing about different things. And behind all this there is a person, the immigrant, who has to suffer on his own all these changes taken.

The Valencian community in Buenos Aires is not as big as the Galician or Basque communities, therefore we do not have as much information as we can get about them. Nevertheless, we can be certain of one thing: the Valencian immigrants must have suffered the same changes, must have missed their land in the same way and must have faced the same problems to get used to their new life. Moreover, what we do know is that they came to our country to stay, to settle down here, to plant their roots and it is in our hands to let them flourish.

If they took the decision of leaving Spain and coming to Argentina is because conditions in both countries were given to allow that situation. We have analyzed how Argentina opened the doors of the country to the immigrants, invited them to choose our country by means of promoting it abroad. On the other hand, Spain was in the middle of Franco's regime, with all the restrictions, persecutions and prohibitions that it implied, and the Valencians who came to Buenos Aires did not get to enjoy the so-called 'Spanish miracle' after the agreement signed with Eisenhower, the president of the United States of America, which meant the Spanish recovery. When that happened in Spain, the Valencians had already left to settle down in Buenos Aires.

We have studied the language skills that the Valencians had at their arrival, only two, listening and speaking, which was a simple consequence of the language restrictions that the vernacular languages had to get through during Franco's regime. However, those two language skills have been kept intact during all these years, not experimenting any kind of changes. They preserved their language, continued using it with relatives and friends and so did they do with their customs and traditions which were transmitted to their descendants, children and grandchildren. The descendants have only acquired the listening skill of the language, but they have received the Valencian sense of identity that their parents or grandparents have managed to convey. This is clearly shown in an experience shared by many descendants: they may travel all around the world, but once they arrive in Valencia, even for the first time, and listen to the language, see the food they can eat or the celebrations they have, they feel at home, they are at home, not in a foreign country. This means that the idea of identity comes to them through the first Valencian immigrants who succeeded in deepening their Valencian essence by revaluing their language.

We have to profit that essence which is present in most of the descendants' homes to transmit it to the new generations. Otherwise it will disappear very soon, specially if we take into account how conditions are given with respect to the immigration nowadays in Argentina. And if it disappears, it will be very difficult to recover it. That is why we have to provide all these conditions to the descendants, we have to ease the opportunities to let them get in touch with the Valencian language and culture.

There are a lot of things that the descendants have still to discover: the Valencian history, literature, the Golden Age of the Valencian literature, music and art. To sum up, only when they have felt completely committed to the Valencian culture and language, we can be sure that they will transmit it to the next generation, and in that way it can remain with us.

We have discovered many things with this research. Not only do we know what has happened with the language, but also how the Valencians feel as regards identity. We have also drawn a clear comparison between the feelings of those Valencians living in Spain with the ones living in Buenos Aires, a comparison between the language spoken in both countries and also a parallelism between the feelings of the Valencians and Catalans towards their communities. But more things have to be investigated. We have studied deeply this generation of Valencian immigrants who settled down in Buenos Aires but more research is necessary. Little do we know about their descendants. They have probably married people not coming from a Valencian family and they have built a new family, a family with a mixed origin: Valencian and another one. We do not know to what extent they have transmitted their experience with the language and have

conveyed their feelings as Valencian descendants. The same can be said about the next generation, the grandchildren.

All in all, we can say that the first step has been given. At least nowadays the Valencians have some evidence of their presence in Buenos Aires. We have shown that the Spanish people in Buenos Aires are not just the Galicians and the Basques. There is another important community that even though it is not so relevant in number, it has managed to leave us their personal seal. They are in the heart of their descendants, let's help them remain with us.

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SECOND PART

**THE VALENCIAN LANGUAGE
IN
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FIRST PART

**VALENCIAN IMMIGRATION
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